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SAINT BASIL

THE LETTERS

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THE LETTERS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN FOUR VOLUMES

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FOREWORD

The *Letters* of St. Basil fittingly continue the series of Patristic writings in the Loeb Classical Library which has already published some of the works of Clement of Alexandria, St. Augustine and the Apostolic Fathers. Apart from their historical significance, these Letters are interesting as expressions of a striking personality. There is so much in the man himself and so rich a variety in his experience, that even in an age remarkable for men of force and character he is an outstanding figure. Withdrawn for a time from contact with worldly affairs, he is again in the very midst of them as bishop and theologian. With a viligant eye to the spiritual needs of his own diocese, he is none the less deeply concerned for the preservation of the Faith against the attack, open or insidious, of Arianism. Here and there in the Letters he gives us descriptions that are exquisite. Occasionally, in extolling the beauty of Christian virtue, he becomes eloquent. And when duty compels him to upbraid those in high places, episcopal or imperial, he is outspoken and fearless.

But the kindly human element in Basil appears at its best when he pours out his heart in sympathy for the sorrowing or in reproof, severe yet merciful, administered to the wayward and fallen. When writing to such as these, he is the father who grieves

no less than the judge who condemns or the bishop who uses his authority to maintain the discipline of the Church.

The salient features of his style are the frequent citation of the Scriptures and the use, at every page, of illustration. The former attests not only his familiarity with the sacred text, but also his habit of meditating upon it and his grasp of the meaning. The latter is what one would expect from a native of Cappadocia whose education in Athens had enriched with culture his inherited wealth of imagination. And it is interesting to note how many of the figurative expressions used by St. Basil are lauded to-day in their English form as brilliant results of original picturesque thinking.

While the translation of those among the Letters which treat of ordinary topics offers no unusual difficulty, the task of rendering certain theological statements into suitable English equivalents is a delicate one. There are technical terms which caused long and bitter polemics among the learned participants in the Trinitarian controversy. No marvel, then, that after sixteen centuries they should exercise the wit of a modern translator. Dr. Deferrari's success in dealing with them gives his translation a smoothness which the reader will appreciate but which implies no sacrifice of meaning to the demands of style.

Right Reverend Monsignor Edward A. Pace.

Professor of Philosophy and Vice-Rector of C.U.A.; *S.T.B., Propaganda, Rome,* 1883; *S.T.D., Propaganda, Rome,* 1886; *Ph.D., Leipzig,* 1891; *Ll.D., Univ. of Notre Dame,* 1910.

PREFATORY NOTE

The Benedictine edition of St. Basil was published in Paris during the years 1721–1730. For the letters of the Saint the chief concern of the editors was the establishing an accurate chronology. For the text they were content, after the manner of the time, to construct something that was readable. Of even the few manuscripts at their disposal they often admitted inaccurate readings. Time has correspondingly appraised the distribution of their labours. The most searching criticism has improved but little their chronology.[1] The numbers assigned to the letters by the Benedictines are to-day the accepted mode of reference. The deficiencies of their text, however, have become evident in the new collation of their manuscripts.

Several years ago Professor Paul van den Ven of the University of Louvain and the writer planned a critical text of St. Basil's correspondence, intending to use the earlier results of their work in a new recension for the Loeb Classical Library. The disorders of the world war and subsequent adjustments checked the full realization of even their minor purpose, but the following manuscripts already had been collated: Parisinus 506 (A), Parisinus 763 S (B), Parisinus 967 (C), Parisinus 1021 S (D), Parisinus Coislinianus 237 (E), and Parisinus 1020 S

[1] Strongly attacked by Ernst, it was successfully defended by Loofs. Cf. Bibliography.

(F). Of these, four had been used by the Benedictine editors, Dom Garnier and Dom Maran, under the following names, Regius 2293 (Regius primus) = Parisinus 506; Coislinianus 288 (Coislin. secundus) = Parisinus 1021 S; Coislinianus 237 (Coislin. primus) = Parisinus Coislin. 237; and Harlaeanus = Parisinus 1020 S. Meanwhile the Abbé Bessières[1] was making a study of all the important manuscripts of St. Basil's correspondence. The results of his work appeared posthumously in the *Journal of Theological Studies* and have been reprinted recently by the Oxford University Press.[2] It is a pleasure to mention here the concordance between the textual conclusions reached by the writer and those based on the more comprehensive studies of the Abbé.

From the Abbé's stemma of manuscripts it will be noticed that those collated by the writer represent each of the two great branches. It will also be noticed that the first and most important family of all, Family Aa, is represented neither in his collation nor in that of the Benedictines. On the basis of the manuscripts read, however, he has been able to revise the Benedictine text for the Loeb Classical Library approximately as planned by Professor van den Ven and himself. At the same time he realizes that the definitive critical edition will differ somewhat from the one here offered, based, as it must be, on the largest and most important manuscript family. All important variant readings are noticed in the foot-notes. Where, in several places only, readings are taken from the Benedictine edition, the

[1] A French priest who died from hardships imposed by the late war.

[2] Cf. Bibliography.

Benedictine sigla are used. Elsewhere the writer's own sigla appear as noted above.

It need scarcely be added that no attempt has been made to revise the chronology of Garnier and Maran. Whenever a letter has been shown by later investigators to have been misplaced by the Benedictines, the fact is merely stated in a footnote. Tillemont's life of St. Basil, which antedated by a generation the Benedictine edition, and therefore employed an earlier numbering of the letters, is so important a work for students of St. Basil that this earlier numbering is given in the Introduction in a list parallel to the St. Maur chronology. In translating St. Basil's quotations from the Bible, the Douay version has been followed as closely as the Saint's own quotations permit. This has at times involved great difficulty.

The writer is greatly indebted to the Princeton University Library and its former head, Dr. E. C. Richardson, for the purchase of the photographic copies of the manuscripts studied. He is deeply in debt to the Rev. J. Benjamin Tennally, S.S., D.D., Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the Sulpician Seminary at the Catholic University of America, both for the quality of the help given him on theological questions and for the generous spirit in which it was given. Without his corrections the writer would not have presumed to offer the translation of Letters VIII and XXXVIII to the public. To J. Marshall Campbell, Ph.D., and to Leo V. Jacks, Ph.D., and to all others who have in any way assisted in the preparation of this work, the translator is profoundly grateful.

Brookland, D.C., U.S.A. Roy J. Deferrari.

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INTRODUCTION

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1. *Early Life and Education* [2]

In the decade of the Council of Nicea and at Caesarea of Cappadocia was born[3] the Church's most effective instrument, after St. Athanasius, in the final victory over Arianism. From both his parents Basil drew gentle and Christian blood. His maternal grandfather, a great landholder, had died a martyr. His paternal grandmother, St. Macrina, was a faithful disciple of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus. The only

[1] The sources are: the works of St. Basil, especially his letters (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XXIX.–XXXII.); the works of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, particularly the long funeral oration (Migne, *P.G.* XXXV.–XXXVII.); the works of St. Gregory of Nyssa, especially the eulogy on his sister, Macrina (Migne, *P.G.* XLIV.–XLVI.); an encomium on St. Basil by the Syrian poet, St. Ephraem (Cotelier, *Monumenta Ecclesiae Graecae*, III); a chapter (116) in St. Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus*. References of uncertain value can also be found in Philostorgius (*Hist. Eccl.* VII. 11–13; Migne, *P.G.* LXV.); in Theodoret (*Hist. Eccl.* IV. 19; Migne. *P.G.* LXXXIV.); in Rufinus (*Hist. Eccl.* II. 9; Migne, *P.L.* XXI.); in Socrates (*Hist. Eccl.* IV. 26; Migne, *P.G.* LXVII.); in Sozomen (*Hist. Eccl.* VI. 15; Migne, *P.G.* LXVII.).

[2] The exigences of book-making have forced me to compress this sketch to a bare outline of Basil's crowded career.

[3] The year of his birth is assigned variously from 320 to 331.

record we have of her husband represents him an unbending victim of the last persecutions. These traditions of steadfast piety were united in the marriage of Basil and Emmelia, the parents of our Saint. The father had a great name in the Pontus and in Cappadocia for his lands, his legal attainments, his professorship of rhetoric, and for a rectitude of life unspoilt by his triple prosperity. Emmelia's worth is attested by the eminence of her children. She was the mother of three bishops, a nun, and a monk. Three of her children were canonized.

Of this remarkable family Basil was the second child, a sickly child, it seems, even as he was always a sickly man,[1] given out to nurse soon after birth with a peasant family of the Pontic countryside.[2] And in the Pontus rather than in Caesarea his earliest days were spent, tutored in the ways of piety by the saintly Macrina and by Emmelia, taught his letters by a father who could add a parent's solicitude to the practised skill of a teaching career, associated with brothers and sisters equally favoured in their formative years. In a household that was affluent and cultured and minutely Christian thus grew up a family remarkable for refined sanctity even in the long annals of the Church.

The singular advantages of this early time were given the Saint throughout his student days. His native Caesarea,[3] the literary as well as the civil capital of Central Asia Minor, first attracted him, and in her locally famous lecture-halls he began to study

[1] Cf. St. Gregory of Nyssa, *In Laudem Fratris Basilii.*

[2] Cf. Letters XXXVI., XXXVII.

[3] Tillemont prefers Caesarea in Palestine, chiefly because of the greater celebrity of its schools.

rhetoric and philosophy. He then proceeded to Constantinople, to whose schools the talent of the world was turning, to be near to Caesar's court. Socrates[1] and Sozomen[2] tell us of a sojourn also at Antioch and under the great Libanius, but neither with Antioch nor Libanius can St. Basil's studies be linked satisfactorily. The bishop mentioned by the chroniclers may very well have been the bishop-orator of Seleucia. Libanius, indeed, was at Constantinople in 347 and our Saint could have arrived there thus early, according to a closely packed chronology, and could have sat under the Great Master, but the attractive hypothesis of their association even at Constantinople is still only an hypothesis.[3] In 351, at all events, Basil left Constantinople and, following the fashion of those who could afford further studies, took up his residence at Athens.

Of all this time of preparation and of the scant notices we have of it there is no phase over which the imagination would more willingly linger than over Basil's years at Athens, the city of unsurpassed memories and still the first university town of the world. Rome and Constantinople had centred in themselves the wealth and influence of empire, but neither had succeeded in dislodging the city of Pallas Athene from that authority in the republic of letters which a literary and teaching tradition eight centuries old and the zeal of the Second Sophistic had given her. There are no modern parallels to explain that pre-eminence. To appreciate what Athens meant to fourth-century students would

[1] *Historia*, IV. 26. [2] *Historia*, VI. 17.

[3] The correspondence which has come down to us under their names is of doubtful authenticity.

require a sympathy for the Attic ideal as extravagant and uncritical as that which obtained in Basil's time, and the opportunity of actually living in this dream-city of fourth-century enthusiasm while the landmarks of her literary glories were still intact and the paganism that had produced these glories was still flourishing. The temples and statues and olive groves, the theatre, the spoken language, the atmosphere even—all that could best sustain a bygone culture against the changes of time—most closely approximated their ancient circumstance at Athens. And thus she was the pattern of excellence to a world that elected to see in Atticism the cultural ideal. An Athenian sojourn gave to professor and student a diploma of prestige not elsewhere to be equalled, and thus this last stronghold of the gods, in magnificent defiance of a world become Christian, still gathered under her Acropolis the talents of the earth.

Christian and pagan contacts are as fascinating a study as the ancient world affords, and the mind would linger here among these eager Christians and pagans come from all parts of the empire, even as many of its students lingered here on into middle life.[1] Aided by the sympathetic genius of Cardinal Newman and the constructive scholarship of Petit de Julleville,[2] we could approach with some assurance the more intimate facts of Basil's relations with Gregory of Nazianzus, with Himerius and Julian the Apostate[3] and Prohairesius and Terentius[4] and

[1] Cf., *e.g.*, Gregory of Nazianzus, *Poemata de se ipso*, XI., 239.
[2] L'École d'Athènes au Quatrième Siècle, Paris, 1868.
[3] Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, Or. V. 23, 24.
[4] Letter LXIV.

Sophronius,[1] did the Saint but give us details. But he is strongly reticent here, and in our other first-hand witness to the period, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, we must make allowances, even in the few notices given, for the liberties of the panegyric. We must content ourselves with the fact of fourth-century Athens and of Basil's sojourn there; of his dislike of university life in its sophomoric pranks and promiscuous immorality; of his serious application to grammar, poetry, history, rhetoric, dialectics, metaphysics; of his passing attention to astronomy, geometry, and medicine. And so passed about five brilliant years.[2]

Towards the end of 355 or at the beginning of 356 St. Basil left Athens to prepare more directly for the holy career which he had cherished through all the triumphs and other distractions of university life. During his long absence from the Pontus his grandmother and father had died, and he returned to find himself the owner of properties scattered over three provinces. The news that the philosopher Eustathius was teaching at Caesarea soon drew him from the Pontus, but when he arrived in his native city the philosopher was already gone.[3] In place of a more prolonged student's career he now became a teacher himself. His Athenian reputation had preceded him into Cappadocia. A chair of rhetoric was offered to him at Caesarea and he accepted. For two years he followed in his father's footsteps.

The Asiatic cities of the fourth century reserved their choicest tributes for their successful sophists.

[1] Letter CCLXXII.
[2] Gregory of Nazianzus, Or. XLIII. 22, 23.
[3] Letter I.

St. Basil became one of these. Within those two short years he attained to such an eminence that Neocaesarea tried to draw him back to the Pontus.[1] In the unsympathetic atmosphere of pagan Athens, Basil had preserved his vocation to religion; in the whirl of flattery and glory that rolled around him in Caesarea he came near to losing it. A secular career of assured brilliance lay before him. At this crisis his sister Macrina intervened, and under her influence the ideal of his Athenian days re-awoke. He renounced his chair at Caesarea, was baptized and gave himself to God.[2]

His mother and Macrina, however, now relieved of family duties by the coming of age of the youngest child, added example to exhortation and made the estate of Annesi on the Iris the home of a religious colony that soon attracted to its austerities women of the first families of Cappadocia. Meanwhile Basil was off to Egypt, Palestine, Coele Syria, and Mesopotamia to find in those flourishing centres of asceticism the details of his ideal. For about two years he thus studied the traditions that went back to St. Antony.[3]

Tiberina, near the Arianzus of his friend Gregory, was Basil's first choice for the scene of his rigours. A spot in Ibora, on the Iris and opposite the community of his mother and sister, was finally elected. To entice the disappointed Gregory to his Pontic hermitage, St. Basil sent him a letter that is a masterpiece of descriptive prose,[4] holding out to Gregory the attractions of a high mountain carpeted

[1] Letter CCX. 2. Rufinus, *Hist. Eccl.* II. 9.
[2] St. Gregory of Nyssa, *De Vita S. Macrinae.*
[3] Letter CCXXIII. 2. [4] Letter XIV.

with green forests and clustering wild-flowers, peopled with tuneful birds and washed at its base by the clear Iris. And above the mere natural beauty of the place, in strong contrast to his Caesarea days, its aloofness is highly praised. This aloofness came not to mean personal isolation, however. Like his mother and sister and like the pioneers in the desert before them, Basil became a nucleus around whom the free-lance ascetics of the Pontus and Cappadocia soon gathered, to give to his sylvan solitude some of the characteristics of a monastery. And here he develops in the practice of those ascetic principles which he sets forth so elaborately in his letters and in his treatises on the religious life. And here at length, amid psalms and hymns and hard manual toil and prayers and fasting and Bible-reading and daybreak arisings and sunset retirements and midnight vigils in tunic and cloak, the ideal of his Athenian days is realized.

2. *Basil and Monasticism*

To give even a brief account of St. Basil's monasticism in the short space here allotted is out of the question, but attention must be called to certain of its features. A definite and detailed Rule of St. Basil,[1] in the sense in which we use that word of St. Benedict's legislation, we do not possess, although the materials for a very comprehensive reconstruction of it are available in his two collections of *Rules;* in his treatises *On the Judgment of God, Concerning the Faith,* and the *Moralia;* in valuable references in his Letters; and, too, in the

[1] That he wrote such a Rule there can be little doubt.

treatises *On Renunciation* and *On the Ascetic Discipline,* if they be really his.

With that thoroughness which characterized his student days he pushed beyond the mere living the life to consider the whole question of monastic theory and practice. "It will probably surprise many persons to be told that the key to St. Basil's asceticism is found in his devoted submission to the authority of the Holy Scripture. He is so far from claiming any right to go beyond Scripture that he thinks it necessary to apologize for even using words which are not found in the Bible. Those, therefore, who would understand him must divest themselves in the first place of that vague association of the Fathers with extra-Scriptural tradition which exists in many minds; and in the next place of that firm persuasion which many good Protestants entertain, that nobody ever loved the Bible or understood its value before the Reformation."[1]

The experience of centuries has found community life, on the whole, the most satisfactory environment for fostering that closer union with God which is the monastic ideal. The experience of St. Basil's forerunners may have pointed to the same conclusion, but the Cenobium was Basil's creation. Before him ascetics had lived utterly alone or in groups almost completely unorganized. To become a monk one had merely to retire to some solitude and there serve God as one's own zeal or the example of holy men might direct. In time these hermits had formed into colonies and the hermit pre-eminent for age and sanctity became a kind of guide to the

[1] R. T. Smith, *St. Basil the Great,* p. 212.

younger. Thus far had monasticism proceeded when Basil settled down at Annesi.

He became the founder of organized monasticism. He made the colony a society. He gave it a code; the minute division of the day, the time of probation for new members, the rule solicitous for every detail of life and conduct, even to articles of food and clothing.[1] Despite this austerity, however, the monastic ideal to St. Basil was social in its implication. Hospitality and charity fell within its scope. And it ought always to be remembered to St. Basil's credit that in that day of untutored zeal, regardless of the rigours with which he visited his own body, he insisted that true continence is the avoidance of all excess, whether of indulgence or abstinence. Throughout the East to-day monasticism, Christian monasticism, is almost everywhere what St. Basil made it.[2] And in the West, a century and a half after Basil's death, St. Benedict urges his monks to read "the rule of our holy Father Basil," telling them that it is one of "the instruments whereby well-living and obedient monks may attain to virtue."[3] Such an estimate, coming as it does from the founder and first legislator of Western monasticism, is an impressive tribute to the efficacy of Basil's code. The Saint himself, however, was given little leisure to test that efficacy personally. In 358 he had gone first to Annesi. In 365 he left it for ever. And even in that short period the needs of the time called him more than once to the world.

[1] Cf. Letter II. 6; also *Reg. Brev.* 136.
[2] Fortescue, *The Orthodox Eastern Church*, 354 ff.
[3] Regula LXXXIII.

3. *The Priesthood*

Basil had spent about a year in his Pontic solitude (358–359) when the first summons came. The Arian controversy was at its height. There had been a quick succession of local councils and endless manœuvring otherwise. Finally all parties had been called to Constantinople by Constantius, and Basil, who may have been a deacon by this time, attended in some inconspicuous capacity. His attitude in the Council we do not know, but in the same year he broke with his bishop, Dianius of Caesarea, for subscribing to the creed of Ariminum, and they remained thus estranged until Dianus' reconciliation with the Nicene faith on his death-bed.

Dianius' successor, Eusebius, was orthodox, but possessed not the firmness to guide the Cappadocian Church through the storms stirred up by Arian aggression and Julian's hostility. Under these circumstances Gregory of Nazianzus finally persuaded Basil to come to Eusebius at Caesarea. Here he was ordained to the priesthood, after many misgivings as to his fitness for the priestly office, in 364. He plunged into administrative work and was soon the most influential figure in the diocese. The very vigour of his work was in such strange contrast to the feeble measures of Eusebius that unpleasantness was inevitable. The details that led to their estrangement are not known, but Gregory of Nazianzus at any rate thought Basil ill-used.[1] The affair finally reached the stage that the bishops, who had objected to the violent nomination of Eusebius and only with difficulty had been induced to admit

[1] Or. XLIII. 28 ; Letters XVI.–XVII.

the lawfulness of his consecration, were ready to consecrate Basil in his stead. Basil, perceiving that his elevation to the episcopacy at this time would divide the orthodox clergy of Cappadocia, refused consecration and retired again to his monastery, accompanied by Gregory.

Encouraged by the thought that in the retirement of Basil the Catholics of Cappadocia were now deprived of their strongest champion, the Emperor Valens in 365 threatened to visit Caesarea personally in behalf of Arianism. Eusebius in this crisis would have been content with Gregory's aid, but the latter refused to act without Basil. A reconciliation was effected, largely through the efforts of Gregory, and Basil returned to Caesarea ready to co-operate loyally with Eusebius. Nothing was done by the Arians, however. The Emperor, from the mere knowledge of Basil's return, gave up the visit.

Basil was able to spend the next five years loyally upholding Eusebius' authority, and increasing the powers of the see. The outstanding event of this period was the great drought and famine, which Basil describes so eloquently in his homily, *On the Famine and Drought.*[1] The vigour he applied to other crises he addressed to this. He sold what possessions he had to buy food with the proceeds, and made eloquent and successful appeals to the rich to follow his example.

4. *Basil and Arianism*

St. Basil's chief concern as a prelate of the Church, what in fact contributed chiefly to his elevation to

[1] Migne, *P.G.* XXXI. 62.

the episcopacy, was the heresy known in history as Subordinationism. And in those "mournful days of boundless controversy,"[1] St. Basil stood out among his fellows as the surest guide. After Athanasius, it was to Basil that the Church owed the restoration of peace.

Subordinationism struck at the heart of Christianity—the Trinity. It made a double assault on this dogma. It began with a denial of the co-equality of the Son with the Father, and later impugned the divinity of the Holy Spirit. The former is known as Arianism and the latter as Macedonianism—each taking its name from its chief exponent, Arius and Macedonius respectively. The destructiveness of their views is immediately evident in the object of their attacks, but a brief review of their heresies is necessary for an understanding of the correspondence which they elicited, and for an intelligent appreciation of the controversy when Basil entered the lists as co-worker and then successor of the great St. Athanasius.

The fundamental tenet of Arianism was that the Son of God is a creature. He is not a creature like other creatures, but a creature nevertheless. Though Arius allows the Son the title God, yet he reminds us that His divinity must be taken in a moral sense only—μετοχῷ.[2] He maintained[3] that the Son had a beginning, ἀρχὴν ὑπάρξεως, ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν; and further that the Son was not begotten out of the substance of the Father but was made out of nothing—ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο.

[1] Letter LXIX.
[2] "By participation," cf. Athanasius, *Oration against the Arians*, I. 9.
[3] Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, I. 5.

The First Ecumenical Council, summoned by Constantine at Nicaea in Bithynia in A.D. 325, rejected this view as heresy, but failed to put an end to the controversy. In the Creed drawn up at the Council were used two words around which the Subordinationist controversy was destined to resolve, ὁμοούσιος and ὑπόστασις. To the Council οὐσία and ὑπόστασις were practically synonyms, meaning "nature," "essence," or "substance." In the strife of the times they gradually drew apart, and St. Basil was an important factor in their differentiation. After the year 370 he expresses the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity in one phrase: *μία οὐσία, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις*, "one substance, three persons."

The career of the word ὁμοούσιος alone sums up almost Arian warfare in the fourth century. As often as the word itself was modified and as often as it received a new interpretation, a new party arose within the Church to divide Christendom. Ὁμοούσιος is clearly derived from ὁμός and *οὐσία*, and *οὐσία*, once the smoke of battle had drifted away, just as clearly signified "substance" when employed of God. Accordingly, ὁμοούσιος came to mean "of like substance." Since the substance of anything is that which makes it what it is, the *οὐσία* of God is that which makes Him God. If the Son, then, is ὁμοούσιος τῷ Πατρί, He is likewise God. But before the Council of Nicaea, ὁμοούσιος was used variously by theologians. To some it denoted only a general similarity, as it did to Aristotle when he employed it of the stars. What became the Nicene interpretation, however, had not been unknown to the theologians of the second and third centuries.

The introduction of this word into the Nicene Creed and its adoption as the test of orthodoxy came about as follows. There were three parties in the Council, according to St. Athanasius—the Arians, the Eusebians under the leadership of Eusebius of Nicomedia, and the orthodox party led by Athanasius himself. Radical Arianism as propounded by Arius was too flagrantly heterodox to find many defenders in the Council. Yet there were many willing to chose a *via media* between Athanasius and Arius. These joined the Eusebians or "intermediate party," whose heterodoxy was subtle enough to deceive many. When the Fathers determined on *ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ* as opposed to the *ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων* of Arius, the Eusebians consulted among themselves and found a special interpretation to cover their heterodoxy. Their ambiguities made only for more precision, however, for the Council amplified its statement to *ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ θεοῦ*. The Eusebians still endeavoured to find a loophole. But when their leader submitted a note declaring openly that the Son was not "of one substance with the Father," heresy furnished from its own scabbard a weapon to cut off its own head,[1] and *ὁμοούσιος τῷ Πατρί*, "of like substance with the Father," was inserted in the Creed. The Emperor Constantine exhorted all present to subscribe to the Creed, thus elaborated by the insertion of *ὁμοούσιος*, and declared it the test of orthodoxy. Eusebius withdrew his opposition to the phrase, *ὁμοούσιος τῷ Πατρί*, but refused to sanction the excommunication of Arius. Since neither would sign, they were banished by an

[1] Cf. St. Ambrose, *De Fide*, III. 7.

emperor who looked upon heresy as tantamount to civil rebellion.

Shortly after the Council of Nicea a reaction set in, and a party was formed against the Council. Its leader, as might be expected, was Eusebius of Nicomedia. This new party was made up of the old conservatives who thought Nicea had been too radical, the remnant of the old radical Arians, and many whose sole reason for being included was their personal hostility to Athanasius. There were some also who were afraid of the Emperor, now unfortunately become the patron of the Eusebians.

The sincerity of Eusebius and his followers from this time is seriously open to question. Their zeal for doctrinal warfare seems to fall behind their hunger for imperial patronage. The success they attained in this latter enterprise is seen in the treatment dealt out, through their machinations, to St. Athanasius, who through five exiles and fifty years of controversy was the personification of orthodoxy. At the synod of Antioch in 341 they shifted their attack to the *ὁμοούσιον* itself. In the Creeds drawn up by that synod the *ὁμοούσιον* was not actually condemned, since there were orthodox bishops present, but mention of it was so scrupulously avoided that the precision of the Nicene Creed was nullified.

Elated by this local victory, the Eusebians laboured for a General Council. Sardica was proposed as the place of its assembly. Owing to a dispute with the orthodox Westerners over the admission of Athanasius, the Eusebians withdrew to Philippolis, where they reissued their Antiochene Creed with its avoidance of the *ὁμοούσιον* (343). But there was quiet for a time.

The death of Constans, the patron of the orthodox West, and of Magnetius left Constantius the sole ruler of the thus reunited empire of his father. From this time his intention of suppressing the ὁμοούσιον became daily more manifest. The Eusebians took advantage of the Arianizing tendencies of the Emperor and sought to make their doctrine co-extensive with his power. Ὁμοούσιον was practically abandoned. Athanasius was dispatched on one of his periodic exiles, and bishops who dared to protest received like treatment—among them the venerable Hosius.

The suppression of the ὁμοούσιον and the violence done its defenders put down orthodoxy, but it also took the band of union away from the Eusebian party. With the ὁμοούσιον interdicted and the common enemy banished, the internal divisions among the Eusebians became more marked. Within their ranks two parties promptly crystallized, and a third was to grow out of them. As heretics they all agreed that the Son was not of the same substance as the Father, ὁμοούσιος τῷ Πατρί, and the question arose as to the likeness of the Son to the Father. The conservatives, known in history as the Semiarians, maintained that there was some likeness of substance, but only a likeness, and substituted for the Nicene ὁμοούσιος the vague ὁμοιούσιος, "of similar substance." Others argued with Aetius and Valens for no likeness in substance, ἀνόμοιος. These last were called Anomoeans, and in the Second Sirmium Creed they rejected ὁμοούσιος and ὁμοιούσιος as being non-scriptural and a cause of scruples.

At this point Constantius, desirous of restoring universal peace among the Arianizing parties, pro-

posed a General Council. The Anomoean party, fearing a coalition of the Oriental Semi-arians and the orthodox Westerners, suggested a double Council—Orientals to meet at Seleucia and the Occidentals at Rimini. To expedite matters as well as to forestall a direct repudiation of the Anomoean doctrine, a new creed called the Fourth Sirmium was drawn up at a preliminary meeting. The Emperor guaranteed to have it ratified by both sections of the Council. This creed made no mention of *οὐσία* and maintained that the Son was like (*ὅμοιος*) the Father in all things (*κατὰ πάντα*). At the double meeting of the Council, however, when the creed was presented with the mysterious deletion of *κατὰ πάντα*, the bishops refused to sign. Both sittings despatched deputies to the court, and there the protesting delegates were forced to subscribe to the *ὅμοιον* creed with its deletion of the *κατὰ πάντα*. The following year, 360, this creed received the approbation of the Council of Constantinople, and all bishops were ordered to subscribe to it under threat of exile. So few refused to subscribe that St. Jerome remarks, "The whole world groaned in astonishment to find itself Arian" (Ingemuit totus orbis et Arianum se esse miratus est).[1]

However, a new Nicene party was now coming to life in Cappadocia. Within the province which both Julian and Valens had found incorrigibly Christian, as a whole, equally irresponsive to either pagan violence or Arian polemics, was formed the alliance that decided the fate of Subordinationism. The

[1] Jerome, *c. Luciferianos*, 19.

persecution of the court and the vagueness of the ὅμοιον party were bound to produce a reaction, and there were men in Cappadocia who saw the inevitable trend through all the smoke of battle. Serious-minded Arians of all shades of difference began to desert their camps. After the death of Constantius there grew up a general movement among Cappadocian heretics towards Rome and orthodoxy. This secession of malcontents was the beginning of the end. The movement spread to more heretical provinces. At length there was only needed a union with the Nicenes of Egypt to dominate the East. This coalition was the policy of St. Basil, now coming to the front of Nicene leaders.

5. *Basil as Archbishop*

In 370 Eusebius of Caesarea died, and the archiepiscopal throne became vacant. Basil, however, who had borne the brunt of its duties for some years, was still alive in the fullness of his power.[1] Any unbiased observer could see that, of all possible candidates for the vacant see, Basil was both the ablest and most likely to direct events in the interests of orthodoxy. From the interpretation one gives to Letter LX. (XXI.) of Gregory Nazianzenus, one must form one's opinion of Basil's motives in procuring his own election, but considering the disinterestedness that motivated his ecclesiastical career as a whole we are bound to believe that in this instance too he was acting solely in the best interests of the Church. A man led only by selfish ambition would not have sought the see of

[1] Greg. Naz., Or. XLIII. 23.

Caesarea during the seventh decade of the fourth century.

Basil had long been highly regarded in Cappadocia, and, on his election to the archiepiscopacy, though opposed by some of the priests with Arian tendencies, he resolutely set about enforcing the decisions of Nicea. He was better prepared for such a task than anyone available in the East. An ascetic, he could control monastic activities; a leader, he could organize the orthodox strength; a rhetorician, he could sway all who heard him; and a disciple of St. Athanasius, he could see the correct position with unerring eye. Furthermore, his life was blameless, and his friends were everywhere.

But the Emperor Valens, a confirmed Arian, heartily disliked both the Cappadocian clergy for their homoousian beliefs and the people for their following the clergy. In 371 he staggered Caesarea by creating a new province of Cappadocia Secunda, with a civil and ecclesiastical centre at Tyana. This spelled political ruin for Basil's city, and indirect but heavy damage to the Church. Valens was finally overawed by the Saint's determination. After one weak attempt at forcing Basil into the unorthodox creed, the Emperor desisted from further religious activities in Cappadocia.

This point marked the real cessation of court influence, and, with nothing further to fear from imperial interference, Basil concentrated his energies upon retaining the rank and file of Cappadocia within strictly orthodox limits. Under his guidance, Cappadocia was spiritually united to the Nicenes of Egypt, Syria, and the West. Gradually it became apparent that heresy was once more opposed by an

unbroken front.[1] But even then the task was a difficult one, for the dying struggles of the great heresy were also its bitterest and most malignant.

Basil did not live to see Arianism utterly stamped out, but an eye as keen as his could not have failed to foresee its collapse. Gradually exhausted by his ascetic practices and the burdens of his see, Basil died on January 1, 379, in the fiftieth year of his age. The nine years of his episcopate had been stormy beyond measure. But they had witnessed practically the complete overthrow of the greatest heresy of the early centuries, a final definitive stand upon the doctrine of the Trinity, the reunion of the scattered orthodox elements in the East, and the undoubted preservation of the faith in Cappadocia and adjoining countries.

A short sketch forbids the consideration of his other activities: his philanthropies, his ministrations as a priest and bishop, his voluminous writings. His was a hard and crowded career from his student days at Caesarea to the end, and its demands drew him into many fields. The width and depth of his interests are portrayed for us fortunately in his letters. Without these, one may learn much of his great achievements, such was his impress on his time and its records, but one does not know St. Basil. The letters soften that impression of hardness which the bare recital of strenuous exploit gives. They alone bring out in all its fullness that compound sternness and humour, kindliness and firmness that makes him one of the most attractive as he was one of the greatest of the Fathers.

[1] Socrates in the *Ecc. Hist. IV.* 26 dwells at length upon Basil's many exertions.

II. Some Important Works of St. Basil

1. *Dogmatic Writings*

Against Eunomius (Ἀνατρεπτικὸς τοῦ Ἀπολογητικοῦ τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς Εὐνομίου); composed in 363 or 364, in three books, to which have been added two others, which very probably belong to Didymus the Blind.

On the Holy Spirit (Περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος); written about 375.

2. *Ascetic Writings*

The authenticity of the greater number of these works has been more or less impugned. The following are the most important and of undoubted authenticity:

Longer Rules for Monks (Ὅροι κατὰ πλάτος); 55 in number.

Shorter Rules for Monks (Ὅροι κατ' ἐπιτομήν); 313 in number.

3. *Sermons*

Of a collection of sermons which has come down to us, the following are the most noteworthy and of undoubted authenticity:

Nine *Homilies on the Creation* (the *Hexaemeron*).

Thirteen *Homilies on the Psalms.*

Against Usurers (Κατὰ τοκιζόντων).

To Youths, on how they shall best profit by the writings of the pagan authors (Πρὸς τοὺς νέους ὅπως ἂν ἐξ Ἑλληνικῶν ὠφελοῖντο λόγων).

4. *Letters*

The correspondence of St. Basil forms a collection of 365 letters (Benedictine edition) and is divided

into three classes by the Benedictine editors: Class I, the letters written before his episcopate, A.D. 357 to 370 (Letters I. to XLVI.); Class II, the letters written during his episcopate, A.D. 370 to 378 (Letters XLVII. to CCXCI.); and Class III, the letters which cannot be assigned to any general period, and many doubtful and spurious ones (Letters CCXCII.–CCCLXV.).

Of the numerous lost works of Basil were a treatise against Manichaeans, and homilies which dealt with various parts of the Scriptures.

III. St. Basil's Letters

When characterizing the letters of St. Basil, we must bear in mind a new and important function which letter-writing was performing in the life of his time. The letter was the most effective means of publicity at one's disposal; it was performing in its circumscribed way the service now furnished by the newspaper. The letter had already done such duty in the days of the late Republic. Under the Empire its possibilities were further exploited.[1] How could the people of Rome be kept informed of the turn of events in the other part of the Empire? And similarly how could a person in one of the provinces know about the trend of things at Rome? This was hardly possible in any detail except through the letters of their friends. If the news they contained was of wide concern, the addressee might pass the letter on to people of his acquaintance, and thus it could go from person to

[1] Cf. Boissier (trans. by W. G. Hutchison), "Tacitus," essay on *The Roman Journal*, p. 197 ff.

person, and eventually become public property. These letters might be addressed to one person or to several, and occasionally they were posted in some public place.

It was by the letter as a medium of publicity that Athanasius, Basil, Gregory, and others of the Fathers braved the persecutions of the Arian emperors. These letters addressed to friends or congregations were copied and circulated everywhere by the faithful, in spite of the surveillance of heretics and governors, and thus kept united the orthodox of the Orient. They visited churches isolated amid Arians, they encouraged exiled bishops, consoled and sustained congregations left without pastors, and everywhere revived the hope of the weak and strengthened the courage of the strong.

St. Basil's letters are of this kind largely, in both effect and intention public documents, meant for a church or province and frequently so addressed. Letters of a purely private character can be found, but neither the addressee nor the opening sentence is an unfailing index thereto. More often than not these intimate preliminaries are but stepping-stones to matters of such wide concern that in the conventions of the time the letter was destined to wide circulation.

Yet the personal touch is too strong in them to allow the inference that St. Basil intended them as literature. His sophistic education could not but give them such a turn, but, as in the case of his sermons and treatises, so here too a literary tradition has come into contact with things of life. It is a happy coincidence that this is so, but it is only a coincidence. If Basil had not gone to Caesarea and

Constantinople and Athens, these letters, with far less of finish certainly, must still have been written, for the needs of the time demanded them. They are the response of a St. Paul to the stern realities of a crisis rather than the researches of a Pliny the Younger stealing an excuse for literary display. They have much of the art of Pliny's playthings, but they have more of the frank reactions of St. Paul to the troubles and delinquencies of his spiritual children.

In classifying epistolary remains it is the fashion to divide them according to the purpose of the writer. If they were primarily intended as literature and are letters only in the form they have assumed, they are called "literary." If they are letters in fact, called forth by a real occasion, they are called "non-literary." Now it is the paradox of St. Basil that in the terminology of criticism his letters are at once non-literary and yet literature. For the Saint they were the instrument of a protagonist and administrator and loyal friend, couched in the literary grace that was a part of him, but meant to serve the occasion only, unrepressed in their free outpouring by any thought of a future; and they are therefore non-literary. For the afterworld they are a precious record of fourth-century Asia Minor and an indispensable key to the character of their author, cherished for themselves apart from their witness; and they are therefore literature. In them we see the artist at his best; in them we see the man as he is.[1]

[1] St. Gregory of Nazianzus tells us that he made a collection of the letters of St. Basil at the request of a certain Nicobulus (cf. Letter LIII.). This was probably

IV. Table of Dates

A.D.	
325.	Council of Nicea.
329 or 330.	Birth of St. Basil.
336.	Death of Arius.
337.	Death of Constantine, and succession of Constantius and his brothers, Constans and Constantine.
343 (*c.*)	St. Basil starts from Annesi to attend school at Caesarea.
346 (*c.*)	St. Basil goes to Constantinople.
350.	Death of Constans.
351.	Constantius becomes sole Emperor. St. Basil goes to the University at Athens.
355.	Julian goes to Athens.
356 (*c.*)	St. Basil returns to Caesarea. The publication of the Life of St. Antony by St. Athanasius.
357 (*c.*)	St. Basil is baptized and is soon afterwards ordained as Reader.
358 (*c.*)	St. Basil visits the monks of Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, and then retires to Pontus.

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an easy task for Gregory because of the ancient custom of keeping letter-books. These books contained either copies of letters written by the owner, or collections of letters received from others (cf. Wilcken, *Archiv*, 1, 168 and 372). Gregory appears to have made his collection of St. Basil's letters from various sources, and such a collection would in all probability have the letters to the same addressee grouped together, just as they were taken from the different books. It is interesting to note that the order of the letters of the Aa family of MSS. is by groups according to addressee The archetype of this group may very well have gone back to the original collection of St. Gregory of Nazianzus.

A.D.	
358–361.	During this period of his life (monastic) St. Basil writes the *Philocalia, Moralia,* and the *Rules.*
360.	St. Basil is ordained deacon. He disputes with Aetius. The Bishop Dianius subscribes to the Creed of Ariminum, and St. Basil accordingly leaves Caesarea. He pays a visit to St. Gregory of Nazianzus.
361–363.	Julian the Apostate becomes Emperor.
362.	St. Basil returns to Caesarea.
363.	Julian dies on June 27, and Jovian succeeds him.
364.	Jovian is succeeded by Valentinian and Valens.
364 (*c.*)	St. Basil is ordained priest. He writes his work against Eunomius.
369.	St. Emmelia dies. St. Basil visits Samosata.
370.	Death of Eusebius of Caesarea. St. Basil is elected Archbishop of Caesarea.
372.	Parleys of Basil and Valens. St. Basil persuades Gregory of Nazianzus to be consecrated Bishop of Sasima. He consecrates his brother Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa. Estrangement of St. Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus.
374.	St. Basil writes the *De Spiritu Sancto.*
375.	Death of Valentinian. Gratian and Valentinian II become Emperors.
378.	Death of Valens.
379.	Death of St. Basil (Jan. 1). Accession of Theodosius.

V. Bibliography

1. *Manuscripts*

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BRANCH A

Family Aa

Baroccianus 121. Oxford	XI s.
Laurent. Mediceus LVII. 7. Florence	XI et XII s.
Vaticanus 434 fonds. Vatican, Rome	XIII s.
Marcianus 61. Venice	XI s.
Patmius 57. Patmos	XII s.
Bodleianus, Thomas Roe 18. Oxford	XIV s.
Parisinus 334 S. Paris	XVI s.

Family Ab

Parisinus 506. Paris	X s.
Parisinus 763 S. Paris	XI s.
Vindobonensis 142. Vienna	XI s.
Estensis 229. Modena	XI/XII s.
Marcianus 79. Venice	XII s.
Bodleianus Miscell. 38. Oxford	XVI s.

Family Ac

Parisinus 967. Paris	XIV s.
Parisinus 1021 S. Paris	XIII s.

[1] "La Tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de Saint Basile," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. XXI., 1919. (Several instalments, beginning No. 81, 1.) Reprinted as a book by the Oxford University Press, 1923.

BRANCH B

Family Bo

Parisinus 37 P.	Arsenal	XI s.
Laurent. Mediceus IV. 14.	Florence	X/XI s.
Vaticanus 713 fonds.	Vatican, Rome	XIII s.
Monacensis 497.	Munich	XI s.
Parisinus Coislin. 237.	Paris	XI s.

Family Bu

Vaticanus 2209 f.	Vatican	X/XI s.
Parisinus 971.	Paris	XVI s.
Ambrosianus 604.	Milan	XVI s.

Family Bx

Parisinus 1020 S.	Paris	XI s.

Family Bz

Vaticanus 435 f.	Vatican, Rome	XIII s.
Berolinensis 23.	Berlin	XVI s.

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Aldine Edition, Venice, 1499.
Vincent Obsopoeus, Grossenhain, 1528.
Bale, first edition, 1532.
Stephanus Sabius, Venice, 1535.
Bale, second edition, 1551.
Claudius Morellus, Paris, 1618.
S. Cramoisy, Paris, 1638.
François Combefis, Paris, 1679.[1]

[1] This work is a collection of critical annotations to the text of St. Basil's letters. François Combefis, a Dominican, had prepared an edition of the works of St. Basil, which was not published because of Combefis's death in 1679. We have here his observations on the text, as published by the Dominican, Vincent Lefèvre.

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VI. The Letters of St. Basil arranged in Parallel Columns according to the Benedictine, and the Older Numbering.

Benedictine.	Older Arrangement.	Benedictine.	Older Arrangement.
I	165	XXXVII	248
II	1	XXXVIII	43
III	175	XXXIX	206
IV	169	XL	207
V	188	XLI	208
VI	189	XLII	1
VII	2	XLIII	2
VIII	141	XLIV	3
IX	41	XLV	4
X	175	XLVI	5
XI	259	XLVII	4
XII	174	XLVIII	254
XIII	172	XLIX	408
XIV	19	L	409
XV	415	LI	86
XVI	168	LII	300
XVII	384	LIII	76
XVIII	211	LIV	181
XIX	3	LV	198
XX	83	LVI	354
XXI	373	LVII	56
XXII	411	LVIII	44
XXIII	383	LIX	46
XXIV	54	LX	45
XXV	53	LXI	47
XXVI	362	LXII	185
XXVII	6	LXIII	371
XXVIII	62	LXIV	350
XXIX	67	LXV	363
XXX	7	LXVI	48
XXXI	267	LXVII	50
XXXII	84	LXVIII	57
XXXIII	358	LXIX	52
XXXIV	5	LXX	220
XXV	236	LXXI	33
XXXVI	228	LXXII	351

Benedictine.	Older Arrangement.	Benedictine.	Older Arrangement.
LXXIII	388	CXIV	204
LXXIV	379	CXV	87
LXXV	361	CXVI	174
LXXVI	331	CXVII	234
LXXVII	226	CXVIII	318
LXXVIII	215	CXIX	307
LXXIX	308	CXX	58
LXXX	49	CXXI	195
LXXXI	319	CXXII	313
LXXXII	51	CXXIII	343
LXXXIII	427	CXXIV	328
LXXXIV	389	CXXV	78
LXXXV	305	CXXVI	364
LXXXVI	179	CXXVII	253
LXXXVII	390	CXXVIII	265
LXXXVIII	243	CXXIX	59
LXXXIX	273	CXXX	196
XC	61	CXXXI	382
XCI	324	CXXXII	315
XCII	69	CXXXIII	320
XCIII	289	CXXXIV	341
XCIV	372	CXXXV	167
XCV	261	CXXXVI	257
XCVI	332	CXXXVII	366
XCVII	68	CXXXVIII	8
XCVIII	259	CXXXIX	71
XCIX	187	CXL	60
C	256	CXLI	262
CI	202	CXLII	418
CII	183	CXLIII	419
CIII	296	CXLIV	420
CIV	279	CXLV	255
CV	301	CXLVI	268
CVI	407	CXLVII	356
CVII	287	CXLVIII	376
CVIII	288	CXLIX	377
CIX	422	CL	392
CX	277	CLI	81
CXI	276	CLII	374
CXII	164	CLIII	428
CXIII	203	CLIV	337

Benedictine.	Older Arrangement.	Benedictine.	Older Arrangement.
CLV	241	CXCVI	359
CLVI	342	CXCVII	55
CLVII	270	CXCVIII	263
CLVIII	271	CXCIX	2
CLIX	387	CC	397
CLX	197	CCI	402
CLXI	393	CCII	396
CLXII	258	CCIII	77
CLXIII	378	CCIV	75
CLXIV	338	CCV	322
CLXV	339	CCVI	348
CLXVI	251	CCVII	63
CLXVII	252	CCVIII	281
CLXVIII	269	CCIX	227
CLXIX	412	CCX	64
CLXX	414	CCXI	170
CLXXI	413	CCXII	370
CLXXII	335	CCXIII	242
CLXXIII	302	CCXIV	349
CLXXIV	283	CCXV	250
CLXXV	410	CCXVI	272
CLXXVI	394	CCXVII	3
CLXXVII	334	CCXVIII	403
CLXXVIII	360	CCXIX	280
CLXXIX	380	CCXX	299
CLXXX	333	CCXXI	298
CLXXXI	316	CCXXII	297
CLXXXII	266	CCXXIII	79
CLXXXIII	294	CCXXIV	345
CLXXXIV	306	CCXXV	385
CLXXXV	310	CCXXVI	73
CLXXXVI	213	CCXXVII	292
CLXXXVII	214	CCXXVIII	290
CLXXXVIII	1	CCXXIX	193
CLXXXIX	80	CCXXX	194
CXC	406	CCXXXI	395
CXCI	398	CCXXXII	404
CXCII	329	CCXXXIII	399
CXCIII	369	CCXXXIV	400
CXCIV	368	CCXXXV	401
CXCV	312	CCXXXVI	391

Benedictine.	Older Arrangement.	Benedictine.	Older Arrangement.
CCXXXVII	264	CCLXXIX	274
CCXXXIX	10	CCLXXX	275
CCXL	192	CCLXXXI	278
CCXLI	260	CCLXXXII	336
CCXLII	182	CCLXXXIII	284
CCXLIII	70	CCLXXXIV	304
CCXLIV	82	CCLXXXV	229
CCXLV	309	CCLXXXVI	417
CCXLVI	66	CCLXXXVII	245
CCXLVII	190	CCLXXXVIII	246
CCXLVIII	405	CCLXXXIX	249
CCXLIX	238	CCXC	323
CCL	85	CCXCI	340
CCLI	72	CCXCII	386
CCLII	291	CCXCIII	166
CCLIII	199	CCXCIV	210
CCLIV	311	CCXCV	295
CCLV	314	CCXCVI	285
CCLVI	200	CCXCVII	286
CCLVII	303	CCXCVIII	233
CCLVIII	325	CCXCIX	352
CCLIX	184	CCC	201
CCLX	317	CCCI	346
CCLXI	65	CCCII	347
CCLXII	344	CCCIII	423
CCLXIII	74	CCCIV	357
CCLXIV	326	CCCV	232
CCLXV	293	CCCVI	424
CCLXVI	321	CCCVII	247
CCLXVII	327	CCCVIII	233
CCLXVIII	9	CCCIX	230
CCLXIX	186	CCCX	237
CCLXX	244	CCCXI	421
CCLXXI	11	CCCXII	426
CCLXXII	330	CCCXIII	353
CCLXXIII	216	CCCXIV	231
CCLXXIV	416	CCCXV	218
CCLXXV	217	CCCXVI	219
CCLXXVI	365	CCCXVII	222
CCLXXVII	42	CCCXVIII	—
CCLXXVIII	425	CCCXIX	—

Benedictine.	Older Arrangement.	Benedictine.	Older Arrangement.
CCCXX	221	CCCXLIII	150
CCCXXI	212	CCCXLIV	151
CCCXXII	223	CCCXLV	152
CCCXXIII	355	CCCXLVI	153
CCCXXIV	375	CCCXLVII	154
CCCXXV	381	CCCXLVIII	155
CCCXXVI	224	CCCXLIX	156
CCCXXVII	225	CCCL	157
CCCXXVIII	367	CCCLI	158
CCCXXIX	282	CCCLII	159
CCCXXX	176	CCCLIII	160
CCCXXXI	240	CCCLIV	161
CCCXXXII	177	CCCLV	162
CCCXXXIII	178	CCCLVI	163
CCCXXXIV	180	CCCLVII	—
CCCXXXV	142	CCCLVIII	—
CCCXXXVI	143	CCCLIX	—
CCCXXXVII	144	CCCLX	205
CCCXXXVIII	145	CCCLXI	—
CCCXXXIX	146	CCCLXII	—
CCCXL	147	CCCLXIII	—
CCCXLI	148	CCCLXIV	—
CCCXLII	149	CCCLXV	—

VII. The Letters of St. Basil arranged in Parallel Columns according to the Older, and the Benedictine Numbering.

Older.	Benedictine Arrangement.	Older.	Benedictine Arrangement.
1	XLII	3	XIX
2	XLIII	4	XLVII
3	XLIV	5	XXXIV
4	XLV	6	XXVII
5	XLVI	7	XXX
1	CLXXXVIII	8	CXXXVIII
2	CXCIX	9	CCLXVIII
3	CCXVII	10	CCXXXIX
1	II	11	CCLXXI
2	VII	19	XIV

Older.	Benedictine Arrangement.	Older.	Benedictine Arrangement.
33	LXXI	81	CLI
41	IX	82	CCXLIV
42	CCLXXVII	83	XX
43	XXXVIII	84	XXXII
44	LVIII	85	CCL
45	LX	86	LI
46	LIX	87	CXV
47	LXI	141	VIII
48	LXVI	142	CCCXXXV
49	LXXX	143	CCCXXXVI
50	LXVII	144	CCCXXXVII
51	LXXXII	145	CCCXXXVIII
52	LXIX	146	CCCXXXIX
53	XXV	147	CCCXL
54	XXIV	148	CCCXLI
55	CXCVII	149	CCCXLII
56	LVII	150	CCCXLIII
57	LXVIII	151	CCCXLIV
58	CXX	152	CCCXLV
59	CXXIX	153	CCCXLVI
60	CXL	154	CCCXLVII
61	XC	155	CCCXLVIII
62	XXVIII	156	CCCXLIX
63	CCVII	157	CCCL
64	CCX	158	CCCLI
65	CCLXI	159	CCCLII
66	CCXLVI	160	CCCLIII
67	XXIX	161	CCCLIV
68	XCVII	162	CCCLV
69	XCII	163	CCCLVI
70	CCXLIII	164	CXII
71	CXXXIX	165	I
72	CCLI	166	CCXCIII
73	CCXXVI	167	CXXXV
74	CCLXIII	168	XVI
75	CCIV	169	IV
76	LIII	170	CCXI
77	CCIII	171	XII
78	CXXV	172	XIII
79	CCXXIII	173	III
80	CLXXXIX	174	CXVI

Older.	Benedictine Arrangement.	Older.	Benedictine Arrangement.
175	X	217	CCLXXV
176	CCCXXX	218	CCCXV
177	CCCXXXII	219	CCCXVI
178	CCCXXXIII	220	LXX
179	LXXXVI	221	CCCXX
180	CCCXXXIV	222	CCCXVII
181	LIV	223	CCCXXII
182	CCXLII	224	CCCXXVI
183	CII	225	CCCXXVII
184	CCLIX	226	LXXVII
185	LXII	227	CCIX
186	CCLXII	228	XXXVI
187	XCIX	229	CCLXXXV
188	V	230	CCCIX
189	VI	231	CCCXIV
190	CCXLVII	232	CCCV
191	CCXXXVIII	233	CCCVIII
192	CCXL	234	CXVII
193	CCXXIX	235	CCXCVIII
194	CCXXX	236	XXXV
195	CXXI	237	CCCX
196	CXXX	238	CCXLIX
197	CXL	239	XI
198	LV	240	CCCXXXI
199	CCLIII	241	CLV
200	CCLVI	242	CCXIII
201	CCC	243	LXXXVIII
202	CCLVI	244	CCLXX
203	CXIII	245	CCLXXXVII
204	CXIV	246	CCLXXXVIII
205	CXIII	247	CCCVII
206	CXIV	248	XXXVII
207	XL	249	CCLXXXIX
208, 209	XLI	250	CCXV
210	CCXCIV	251	CLXVI
211	XVIII	252	CLXVII
212	CCCXXI	253	CXXVII
213	CLXXXVI	254	XLVIII
214	CLXXXVII	255	CXXVII
215	LXXVIII	256	C
216	CCLXXIII	257	CXXXVI

Older.	Benedictine Arrangement.	Older.	Benedictine Arrangement.
258	CLXII	299	CCXX
259	XCVIII	300	LII
260	CCXLI	301	CV
261	XCV	302	CLXXIII
262	CXLI	303	CCCVII
263	CXCVIII	304	CCLXXXIV
264	CCXXXVII	305	LXXXV
265	CXXVIII	306	CLXXXIV
266	CLXXXII	307	CXIX
267	XXXI	308	LXXIX
268	CXLVI	309	CCXLV
269	CLXVIII	310	CLXXXV
270	CLVII	311	CCLIV
271	CLXVIII	312	CXCV
272	CCXVI	313	CXXII
273	LXXIX	314	CCLV
274	CCXXIX	315	CXXXII
275	CCLXXX	316	CLXXXI
276	CXI	317	CCLX
277	CX	318	CXVIII
278	CCLXXXI	319	LXXXI
279	CIV	320	CXXXIII
280	CCXIX	321	CCLXVI
281	CCVIII	322	CCV
282	CCCXXIX	323	CCXC
283	CLXXIV	324	XCI
284	CCLXXXIII	325	CCLVIII
285	CCXCVI	326	CCXCIV
286	CCXCVII	327	CCLXVII
287	CVII	328	CXXIV
288	CVIII	329	CXCII
289	XCIII	330	CCLXXII
290	CCXXVIII	331	LXXVI
291	CCLII	332	XCVI
292	CCXXVII	333	CLXXX
293	CCLXV	334	CLXXVII
294	CLXXXIII	335	CLXXII
295	CCXCV	336	CCLXXXII
296	CIII	337	CLIV
297	CCXXII	338	CLXIV
298	CCXXI	339	CLXV

Older.	Benedictine Arrangement.	Older.	Benedictine Arrangement.
340	CCXCI	381	CCCXXV
341	CXXXIV	382	CXXXI
342	CLVI	383	XXIII
343	CXXIII	384	XVII
344	CCLXII	385	CCXXV
345	CCXXIV	386	CCXCII
346	CCCI	387	CLIX
347	CCCII	388	LXXIII
348	CCVI	389	LXXXIV
349	CCXIV	390	LXXXVII
350	LXIV	391	CCXXXVI
351	LXXII	392	CL
352	CCXCIX	393	CLXI
353	CCCXIII	394	CLXXVI
354	LVI	395	CCXXXI
355	CCCXXIII	396	CCII
356	CXLVII	397	CC
357	CCCIV	398	CXCI
358	XXXIII	399	CCXXXIII
359	CXCVI	400	CCXXXIV
360	CLXXVIII	401	CCXXXV
361	LXXV	402	CCI
362	XXVI	403	CCXVIII
363	LXV	404	CCXXXII
364	CXXVI	405	CCXLVIII
365	CCLXXVI	406	CXC
366	CXXXVII	407	CVI
367	CCCXXVIII	408	XLIX
368	CXCIV	409	L
369	CXCIII	410	CLXXV
370	CCXII	411	XXII
371	LXIII	412	CLXIX
372	XCIV	413	CLXXI
373	XXI	414	CLXX
374	CLII	415	XV
375	CCCXXIV	416	CCLXXIV
376	CXLVIII	417	CCLXXXVI
377	CXLIX	418	CXLII
378	CLXIII	419	CXLIII
379	LXXIV	420	CXLIV
380	CLXXIX	421	CCCXI

Older.		Benedictine Arrangement.	Older.		Benedictine Arrangement.
422	. .	CIX	—	. .	CCCXVII
423	. .	CCCIII	—	. .	CCCLVIII
424	. .	CCCVI	—	. .	CCCLIX
425	. .	CCLXXVIII	—	. .	CCCLXI
426	. .	CCCXII	—	. .	CCCLXII
427	. .	LXXXIII	—	. .	CCCLXIII
428	. .	CLIII	—	. .	CCCLXIV
—	. .	CCCXVIII	—	. .	CCCLXV
—	. .	CCCXIX			

COLLECTED LETTERS OF SAINT BASIL

ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ

I

Εὐσταθίῳ φιλοσόφῳ[1]

Ἀπειρηκότα με ἤδη πρὸς τὰς παρὰ τῆς λεγομένης[2] τύχης ἐπηρείας, παρʼ ἧς ἀεί τι πρὸς τὸ μὴ συγγενέσθαι σοι ἐμπόδιον γέγονε, θαυμαστῶς πως ἀνεκαλέσω καὶ παρεμυθήσω τοῖς γράμμασι. καὶ γάρ πως ἤδη καὶ κατʼ ἐμαυτὸν ἔστρεφον, μή ποτε ἀληθές ἐστι τὸ παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν θρυλλούμενον, ὅτι ἀνάγκη τίς ἐστι καὶ εἱμαρμένη ἡ καὶ τὰ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ μείζω τῶν ἡμετέρων ἄγουσα, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐδενός ἐσμεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι κύριοι· ἤ, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο, τύχη τις πάντως τὸν ἀνθρώπινον ἐλαύνει βίον. καὶ τούτων πολλὴν συγγνώμην ἕξεις τῶν λογισμῶν, ἐπειδὰν τὰς αἰτίας, ὑφʼ ὧν εἰς αὐτοὺς προήχθην, μάθῃς.

Ἐγὼ κατέλιπον τὰς Ἀθήνας κατὰ φήμην τῆς σῆς φιλοσοφίας, ὑπεριδὼν τῶν ἐκεῖ. παρέδραμον δὲ τὴν ἐφʼ Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλιν, ὡς οὐδεὶς Ὀδυσ-

[1] πρὸς Εὐστάθιον πρεσβύτερον Ἀντιοχείας A, B; πρὸς Εὐστάθιον φιλόσοφον ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας πρὸ τοῦ πρεσβύτερον κατασταθῆναι C, D, G; Εὐσταθίῳ φιλοσόφῳ Ἀντιοχείας περὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου F. According to the Benedictines none of these titles is possible because Eustathius was not a presbyter, but a heathen, as is indicated by Basil's words: "Is not all this the hand of Fate, as you yourself would say, and the work of Necessity?"

[2] λεγομένης om. A, B, C, D.

COLLECTED LETTERS OF SAINT BASIL

LETTER I

To Eustathius, the Philosopher[1]

At a time when I was at last disheartened by the spite of what men call Fortune, which has always put some obstacle in the way of my seeing you, you revived my spirit and consoled me wonderfully by your letter. For I was just turning over in my mind the popular saying, and wondering if it were not perhaps true, that the power which directs our affairs both great and small is a certain Necessity or Fate, while we human beings have in ourselves authority over nothing; or if not this, that it is a kind of chance at all events that drives on the lives of men. You will be very indulgent with me for harbouring these thoughts when you learn the reasons why I was drawn to them.

Owing to the repute of your philosophy, I left Athens, scorning everything there. And I hastened past the city on the Hellespont[2] as no Odysseus

[1] Written in 357. This Eustathius was apparently an itinerant philosopher of the age, whose teachings Basil, on his return from the University at Athens, tried in vain to hear. Cf. Intro. p. xvii. From the general tone of this letter, he seems to have been a pagan.

[2] Constantinople.

σεὺς Σειρήνων μέλη. καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐθαύμασα μέν, πρὸς δὲ τὴν μητρόπολιν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καλῶν ἠπειγόμην. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέλαβον τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ σὲ ἐν αὐτῇ, τὸ μέγα ὄφελος, ζητήσας οὐχ εὗρον, ἐντεῦθέν μοι λοιπὸν αἱ πολλαὶ καὶ ποικίλαι ἀφορμαὶ τῶν ἀδοκήτων ἐπιγεγόνασι κωλυμάτων. ἢ γὰρ ἀσθενεῖν πάντως ἔδει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑῴαν βαδίζοντι συναπαίρειν μὴ δύνασθαι· ὀψὲ δέ ποτε μυρίοις πόνοις τὴν Συρίαν καταλαβόντα, οὐκ ἔχειν συνεῖναι τῷ φιλοσόφῳ πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους ἀπάραντι. πάλιν οὖν ἔδει Αἴγυπτόνδ' ἰέναι, δολιχὴν ὁδὸν ἀργαλέην τε, καὶ οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα τὸ σπουδαζόμενον ἔχειν. ἀλλ' οὕτω δυσέρως ἦν ὥστε ἢ τὴν ἐπὶ Πέρσας βαδίζειν ἔδει καὶ συμπροϊέναι εἰς ὅτι μήκιστον τῆς βαρβάρων (ἦλθες γὰρ δὴ κἀκεῖσε· τοσαύτη τις ἦν φιλονεικία τοῦ δαίμονος) ἢ αὐτοῦ καθῆσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὅπερ οὖν καὶ συνέβη. δοκῶ γάρ μοι, εἰ μὴ ὥσπερ τι θρέμμα θαλλῷ προδεικνυμένῳ ἑπόμενος ἀπηγόρευσα, ἐπέκεινα ἄν σε καὶ Νύσσης τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἐλθεῖν ἀγόμενον καί, εἴ τι ἔσχατον τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης χωρίον, καὶ τούτῳ ἐπιπλανηθῆναι.

Καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ἀλλὰ τὸ τελευταῖον νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος διάγοντι συγγενέσθαι οὐκ ἐξεγένετο, μακραῖς ἀῤῥωστίαις ἐξειργομένῳ· αἳ εἰ μὴ τοῦ γε λοιποῦ μετριώτεραι γένοιντο, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν χειμῶνα τῇ λογιότητί σου συνεσόμεθα. ταῦτα

[1] *Od.* 12. 158.
[2] Caesarea is probably meant.
[3] *Od.* 4. 483.
[4] In the Punjab. Cf. Soph. *Ajax*, 700.
[5] Here used as a title, as often in Byzantine Greek.

ever avoided Sirens' songs.[1] And though I marvelled at Asia's wonders, I hurried on toward the mother-city[2] of her glories. Yet when I reached the fatherland, and searching there for you, my great help, found you not, from that time on and ever since I have encountered many varied experiences which have put unexpected obstacles in my way. For either I had to be sick and consequently to miss seeing you, or I found myself unable to join you as you set out for the Orient; and when at last by innumerable toils I arrived in Syria, I could not be with my philosopher, who had set out for Egypt. So, once more, I was obliged to go to Egypt, "a long and weary way,"[3] and not even there could I have my desire. Nay, so love-sick was I that I was compelled either to take the road to Persia and go with you as you advanced to the uttermost limits of the land of the barbarians—for indeed you went even thither, so obstinate was the demon who kept us apart—or else take up my abode here at Alexandria. This last is what I actually did. For if I had not grown weary of following you as a lamb follows the shepherd's staff held out before it, I really think that you would have been driven on and on even beyond Indian Nyssa,[4] or, if there is an uttermost spot of our world, that you would have wandered even there.

But why need I tell the whole long story? Coming last of all to the end of it, though you are now staying in your fatherland, it has not been granted me to be with you, since I have been kept away by long periods of sickness; and if these do not soon become more moderate, we shall not be able to be with Your Eloquence[5] this winter, either.

οὐχ εἱμαρμένης ἔργα, ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς εἴποις; ταῦτα οὐκ ἀνάγκης; ταῦτα οὐχί, μικροῦ δεῖν, καὶ τοὺς τῶν ποιητῶν ἐπὶ Ταντάλῳ μύθους ὑπερεβάλετο; ἀλλ', ὅπερ ἔφην, ῥᾴων γέγονα τοῖς γράμμασι καὶ οὐκέτι ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς εἰμὶ γνώμης. φημὶ δὲ χρῆναι διδόντι μὲν τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῷ Θεῷ χάριν εἰδέναι, ταμιευομένῳ δὲ μὴ δυσχεραίνειν. καὶ δὴ οὖν καὶ ἡμῖν εἰ μὲν παράσχοιτο συνεῖναί σοι, ταῦτ' ἄριστά τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἥδιστα ἡγησόμεθα. εἰ δὲ ἀναβάλοιτο, πρᾴως οἴσομεν τὴν ζημίαν. ἄμεινον γάρ που πάντως, ἢ ὡς ἂν ἡμεῖς προελοίμεθα,[1] διοικεῖ τὰ ἡμέτερα.

II

Βασίλειος Γρηγορίῳ

Ἐπέγνων σου τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς τῶν φίλων παῖδας ἐκ τῆς ἐπιφαινομένης αὐτοῖς ὁμοιότητος πρὸς τοὺς τεκόντας ἐπιγινώσκουσι. τὸ γὰρ μὴ μέγα εἶναι φῆσαι τὴν τοῦ τόπου κατασκευὴν πρὸς τὸ ἐμποιῆσαι ὁρμήν τινα τῇ ψυχῇ σου εἰς τὸν μεθ' ἡμῶν βίον πρὶν ἄν περὶ τοῦ τρόπου τι μάθῃς καὶ τῆς διαγωγῆς σὸν ἦν ὄντως τὸ διανόημα καὶ τῆς σῆς ψυχῆς ἄξιον, τῆς πάντα τὰ τῇδε μηδὲν τιθεμένης πρὸς τὴν ἐν ἐπαγγελίαις ἡμῖν ἀποκειμένην μακαριότητα. ἐγὼ δὲ ἃ μὲν

[1] προϊδοίμεθα C, D.

Is not all this the hand of Fate, as you yourself would say, and the work of Necessity? Have not these things almost surpassed even the poet's tales about Tantalus? But, as I said, I have been put at ease by the receipt of your letter, and I no longer hold the same opinion. I now say that I ought to give thanks to God when He giveth benefits, and not be vexed with Him when He dispenseth them grudgingly. So, therefore, if He should grant that we be with you, we count it at once the best and the most pleasing gift; but if He should postpone this blessing, we shall calmly bear our loss. For surely He administers our affairs better than we should if the choice were ours.

LETTER II

Basil to Gregory[1]

I recognized your letter, just as men recognize the children of their friends by the parents' likeness appearing in them. For when you say that the nature of our surroundings would not greatly tend to implant in your soul a desire to live with us until you should learn something of our habits and mode of life, it is truly characteristic of your mind and worthy of your soul, which counts all the things of this earth as nothing compared with the promised bliss which is in store for us. But I am ashamed to

[1] Written to Gregory of Nazianzus at the beginning of Basil's retirement to Pontus; in about 358. Basil constantly endeavoured to induce Gregory to join him in his monastic life.

ποιῶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχατιᾶς ταύτης, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, γράφειν αἰσχύνομαι. κατέλιπον μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἐν ἄστει διατριβὰς ὡς μυρίων κακῶν ἀφορμάς, ἐμαυτὸν δὲ οὔπω ἀπολιπεῖν ἠδυνήθην. ἀλλ' ὅμοιός εἰμι τοῖς ἐν θαλάσσῃ ὑπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν ἀπειρίας ἀπορουμένοις[1] καὶ ναυτιῶσιν· οἳ τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ πλοίου δυσχεραίνουσιν ὡς πολὺν τὸν σάλον παρεχομένῳ, κἀκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὸν λέμβον ἢ τὸ ἀκάτιον μεταβαίνοντες, πανταχοῦ ναυτιῶσι καὶ ἀποροῦνται· συμμετέρχεται γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀηδία[2] καὶ ἡ χολή. τοιοῦτον οὖν τι καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον. τὰ γὰρ ἔνοικα πάθη συμπεριφέροντες πανταχοῦ μετὰ τῶν ὁμοίων θορύβων ἐσμέν, ὥστε οὐδὲν μέγα[3] τῆς ἐρημίας[4] ἀπωνάμεθα ταύτης. ἃ μέντοι ποιεῖν ἔδει καὶ ὅθεν ὑπῆρξεν ἂν ἡμῖν τῶν ἰχνῶν ἔχεσθαι τοῦ πρὸς σωτηρίαν καθηγησαμένου (εἴ τις γάρ, φησί, θέλει ὀπίσω μου ἐλθεῖν, ἀπαρνησάσθω ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀράτω τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθείτω μοι), ταῦτά ἐστιν.

Ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ τὸν νοῦν ἔχειν πειρᾶσθαι προσήκει. ὡς γὰρ ὀφθαλμὸν περιαγόμενον συνεχῶς, καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ πλάγια περιφερόμενον, νῦν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄνω καὶ κάτω πυκνὰ[5] μεταστρεφόμενον, ἰδεῖν ἐναργῶς τὸ ὑποκείμενον οὐχ οἷόν τε, ἀλλὰ χρὴ προσερεισθῆναι τὴν ὄψιν τῷ ὁρωμένῳ, εἰ μέλλοι ἐναργῆ αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν θέαν· οὕτω καὶ νοῦν ἀνθρώπου ὑπὸ μυρίων τῶν κατὰ τὸν κόσμον φροντίδων περιελκόμενον ἀμήχανον ἐναργῶς ἐνατενίσαι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ. ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν οὔπω τοῖς δεσμοῖς τοῦ

[1] ἀπολλυμένοις A.
[2] δειλία C, F.
[3] ἐκ add. C, E, F.
[4] ἡσυχίας C.

write what I myself do night and day in this out-of-the way place. For I have indeed left my life in the city, as giving rise to countless evils, but I have not yet been able to leave myself behind. On the contrary, I am like those who go to sea, and because they have had no experience in sailing are very distressed and sea-sick, and complain of the size of the boat as causing the violent tossing; and then when they leave the ship and take to the dinghy or the cock-boat, they continue to be sea-sick and distressed wherever they are; for their nausea and bile go with them when they change. Our experience is something like this. For we carry our indwelling disorders about with us, and so are nowhere free from the same sort of disturbances. Consequently we have derived no great benefit from our present solitude. What we ought to do, however, and what would have enabled us to keep close to the footsteps of Him who pointed the way to salvation (for He says, "If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow Me"),[1] is this.

We must try to keep the mind in tranquillity. For just as the eye which constantly shifts its gaze, now turning to the right or to the left, now incessantly peering up and down, cannot see distinctly what lies before it, but the sight must be fixed firmly on the object in view if one would make his vision of it clear, so too man's mind when distracted by his countless worldly cares cannot focus itself distinctly on the truth. Nay, he who is not yet yoked in the

[1] Matt. 16. 24.

[5] πυκνὰ om. C, E.

γάμου συνεζευγμένον λυσσώδεις ἐπιθυμίαι καὶ ὁρμαὶ δυσκάθεκτοι καὶ ἔρωτές τινες δυσέρωτες ἐκταράσσουσι· τὸν δὲ ἤδη συγκατειλημμένον [1] ὁμοζύγῳ [2] ἕτερος θόρυβος φροντίδων ἐκδέχεται· ἐν ἀπαιδίᾳ, παίδων ἐπιθυμία·[3] ἐν τῇ κτήσει τῶν παίδων, παιδοτροφίας μέριμνα,[4] γυναικὸς φυλακή, οἴκου ἐπιμέλεια, οἰκετῶν προστασίαι, αἱ κατὰ τὰ συμβόλαια βλάβαι, οἱ πρὸς τοὺς γείτονας διαπληκτισμοί, αἱ ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις συμπλοκαί, τῆς ἐμπορίας οἱ κίνδυνοι, αἱ τῆς γεωργίας διαπονήσεις. πᾶσα ἡμέρα ἰδίαν ἥκει φέρουσα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπισκότησιν. καὶ [5] αἱ νύκτες τὰς μεθημερινὰς φροντίδας παραλαμβάνουσαι,[6] ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς φαντασίαις ἐξαπατῶσι τὸν νοῦν.

Τούτων δὲ μία φυγή, ὁ χωρισμὸς [7] ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου παντός. κόσμου δὲ ἀναχώρησις, οὐ τὸ ἔξω αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι σωματικῶς, ἀλλὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸ σῶμα συμπαθείας τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποῤῥῆξαι καὶ γενέσθαι ἄπολιν, ἄοικον, ἀνίδιον, ἀφιλέταιρον, ἀκτήμονα, ἄβιον, ἀπράγμονα, ἀσυνάλλακτον, ἀμαθῆ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων διδαγμάτων, ἕτοιμον ὑποδέξασθαι τῇ καρδίᾳ τὰς ἐκ τῆς θείας διδασκαλίας ἐγγινομένας διατυπώσεις. ἑτοιμασία δὲ καρδίας ἡ ἀπομάθησις τῶν ἐκ πονηρᾶς συνηθείας προκατασχόντων αὐτὴν διδαγμάτων. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν κηρῷ γράψαι δυνατόν, μὴ προκαταλεάναντα τοὺς ἐναποκειμένους χαρακτῆρας· οὔτε ψυχῇ δόγματα θεῖα παραθέσθαι, μὴ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἔθους προλήψεις αὐτῆς ἐξελόντα. πρὸς δὴ τοῦτο μέ-

[1] κατειλημμένον C, E, F: συγκατειλημμένον A, B.
[2] ὁμόζυγι F. [3] ἐπιθυμίαι C, F.

bonds of matrimony is greatly disturbed by violent desires, rebellious impulses, and morbid lusts; while he who is already bound in wedlock is seized by yet another tumult of cares; if childless, by a longing for children, if possessing children, by solicitude for their nurture, by keeping watch over his wife, by the management of his household, the protection of his servants' rights, losses on contracts, quarrels with neighbours, contests in the law-courts, risks of business, or the labours of the farm. Every day brings with it some particular cloud to darken the soul; and night takes over the cares of the day, deluding the mind with the same cares in fantasy.

There is but one escape from all this—separation from the world altogether. But withdrawal from the world does not mean bodily removal from it, but the severance of the soul from sympathy with the body, and the giving up city, home, personal possessions, love of friends, property, means of subsistence, business, social relations, and knowledge derived from human teaching; and it also means the readiness to receive in one's heart the impressions engendered there by divine instruction. And making the heart ready for this means the unlearning of the teachings which already possess it, derived from evil habits. For it is no more possible to write in wax without first smoothing away the letters previously written thereon, than it is to supply the soul with divine teachings without first removing its preconceptions derived from habit. Now to this end solitude gives

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[4] μέριμναι C, F. [5] καὶ om. C, E, F.
[6] παραλαβοῦσαι A, B, C, F.
[7] δρασμὸς C, F.

γιστον ὄφελος ἡμῖν ἡ ἐρημία παρέχεται, κατευνάζουσα ἡμῶν τὰ πάθη καὶ σχολὴν διδοῦσα τῷ λόγῳ παντελῶς αὐτὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκτεμεῖν. ὡς γὰρ τὰ θηρία εὐκαταγώνιστά ἐστι καταψηχθέντα,[1] οὕτως ἐπιθυμίαι καὶ ὀργαὶ καὶ φόβοι καὶ λῦπαι, τὰ ἰοβόλα τῆς ψυχῆς κακά, κατευνασθέντα διὰ τῆς ἡσυχίας καὶ μὴ ἐξαγριαινόμενα τῷ συνεχεῖ ἐρεθισμῷ, εὐκαταγωνιστότερα τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ λόγου γίνεται. ἔστω τοίνυν τὸ χωρίον τοιοῦτον, οἷόν πέρ ἐστι καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον, ἐπιμιξίας ἀνθρώπων ἀπηλλαγμένον, ὡς ὑπὸ μηδενὸς τῶν ἔξωθεν τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς ἀσκήσεως διακόπτεσθαι.

Ἄσκησις δὲ εὐσεβείας τὴν ψυχὴν τρέφει τοῖς θείοις διανοήμασι. τί οὖν μακαριώτερον[2] τοῦ τὴν ἀγγέλων χορείαν ἐν γῇ μιμεῖσθαι; εὐθὺς μὲν ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας εἰς εὐχὰς ὁρμῶντα, ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς γεραίρειν τὸν κτίσαντα; εἶτα ἡλίου καθαρῶς διαλάμψαντος, ἐπ' ἔργα τρεπόμενον, πανταχοῦ αὐτῷ τῆς εὐχῆς[3] συμπαρούσης, καὶ τοῖς ὕμνοις, ὥσπερ ἅλατι, παραρτύειν τὰς ἐργασίας; τὸ γὰρ ἱλαρὸν καὶ ἄλυπον τῆς ψυχῆς κατάστημα αἱ τῶν ὕμνων παρηγορίαι χαρίζονται.

Ἡσυχία οὖν ἀρχὴ καθάρσεως τῇ ψυχῇ, μήτε γλώττης λαλούσης τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, μήτε ὀφθαλμῶν εὐχροίας σωμάτων καὶ συμμετρίας περισκοπούντων, μήτε ἀκοῆς τὸν τόνον τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκλυούσης ἐν ἀκροάμασι μελῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν πεποιημένων, μήτε ῥήμασιν εὐτραπέλων καὶ γελοιαστῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὃ μάλιστα λύειν τῆς ψυχῆς τὸν τόνον πέφυκε. νοῦς μὲν γὰρ μὴ

us the greatest help, since it calms our passions, and gives reason leisure to sever them completely from the soul. For just as animals are easily subdued by caresses; so desire, anger, fear and grief, the venomous evils which beset the soul, if they are lulled to sleep by solitude and are not exasperated by constant irritations, are more easily subdued by the influence of reason. Therefore let the place of retirement be such as ours, so separated from the intercourse of men that the continuity of our religious discipline may not be interrupted by any external distraction.

The discipline of piety nourishes the soul with divine thoughts. What then is more blessed than to imitate on earth the anthems of angels' choirs; to hasten to prayer at the very break of day, and to worship our Creator with hymns and songs; then, when the sun shines brightly and we turn to our tasks, prayer attending us wherever we go, to season our labours with sacred song as food with salt? For that state of the soul in which there is joy and no sorrow is a boon bestowed by the consolation of hymns.

The very beginning of the soul's purgation is tranquillity, in which the tongue is not given to discussing the affairs of men, nor the eyes to contemplating rosy cheeks or comely bodies, nor the ears to lowering the tone of the soul by listening to songs whose sole object is to amuse, or to words spoken by wits and buffoons—a practice which above all things tends to relax the tone of the soul. For

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[1] *καταψυχθέντα* C, F. [2] *μακαριστότερον* C, E.
[3] *ψυχῆς* C.

σκεδαννύμενος ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξω μηδὲ ὑπὸ τῶν αἰσθητηρίων ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον διαχεόμενος[1] ἐπάνεισι μὲν πρὸς ἑαυτόν, δι' ἑαυτοῦ δὲ πρὸς τὴν περὶ Θεοῦ ἔννοιαν ἀναβαίνει· κἀκείνῳ τῷ κάλλει περιλαμπόμενός τε καὶ ἐλλαμπόμενος[2] καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως λήθην λαμβάνει· μήτε πρὸς τροφῆς φροντίδα μήτε πρὸς περιβολαίων μέριμναν τὴν ψυχὴν καθελκόμενος, ἀλλὰ σχολὴν ἀπὸ τῶν γηΐνων φροντίδων ἄγων, τὴν πᾶσαν ἑαυτοῦ σπουδὴν ἐπὶ τὴν κτῆσιν τῶν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν μετατίθησι· πῶς μὲν κατορθωθῇ αὐτῷ ἡ σωφροσύνη καὶ ἡ ἀνδρία· πῶς δὲ ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἡ φρόνησις, καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ ἀρεταὶ ὅσαι ταῖς γενικαῖς ταύταις ὑποδιαιρούμεναι καθηκόντως ἕκαστα ἐπιτελεῖν τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ὑποβάλλουσι τῷ σπουδαίῳ.

Μεγίστη δὲ ὁδὸς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ καθήκοντος εὕρεσιν καὶ[3] ἡ μελέτη τῶν θεοπνεύστων Γραφῶν. ἐν ταύταις γὰρ καὶ αἱ τῶν πράξεων ὑποθῆκαι εὑρίσκονται καὶ οἱ βίοι τῶν μακαρίων ἀνδρῶν ἀνάγραπτοι παραδεδομένοι, οἷον εἰκόνες τινὲς ἔμψυχοι τῆς κατὰ Θεὸν πολιτείας, τῷ μιμήματι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργων πρόκεινται. καὶ τοίνυν περὶ ὅπερ ἂν ἕκαστος ἐνδεῶς ἔχοντος ἑαυτοῦ αἰσθάνηται, ἐκείνῳ προσδιατρίβων, οἷον ἀπό τινος κοινοῦ ἰατρείου, τὸ πρόσφορον εὑρίσκει τῷ ἀρρωστήματι φάρμακον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐραστὴς τῆς σωφροσύνης τὴν περὶ τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ ἱστορίαν συνεχῶς ἀνελίσσει καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰς σωφρονικὰς ἐκδιδάσκεται πράξεις, εὑρίσκων αὐτὸν οὐ μόνον ἐγκρατῶς πρὸς ἡδονὰς ἔχοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑκτικῶς πρὸς ἀρετὴν διακείμενον. ἀνδρίαν δὲ παιδεύεται παρὰ τοῦ

when the mind is not dissipated upon extraneous things, nor diffused over the world about us through the senses, it withdraws within itself, and of its own accord ascends to the contemplation of God. Then when it is illuminated without and within by that glory, it becomes forgetful even of its own nature; no longer able to drag the soul down to thought of sustenance or to concern for the body's covering, but enjoying leisure from earthly cares, it transfers all its interest to the acquisition of the eternal goods—how it may achieve temperance and fortitude, justice and prudence, and all the minor virtues, subordinate to these, the major ones, which prompt the good man to perform as he should the several duties of life.

A most important path to the discovery of duty is also the study of the divinely-inspired Scriptures. For in them are not only found the precepts of conduct, but also the lives of saintly men, recorded and handed down to us, lie before us like living images of God's government, for our imitation of their good works. And so in whatever respect each one perceives himself deficient, if he devote himself to such imitation, he will discover there, as in the shop of a public physician, the specific remedy for his infirmity. The lover of chastity constantly peruses the story of Joseph, and from him learns what chaste conduct is, finding Joseph not only continent as regards carnal pleasures but also habitually inclined towards virtue.

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1 *διαφορούμενος* C.
2 *τε καὶ ἐλλαμπόμενος* om. editi; non tamen A, B, C, E, F.
3 *καὶ* om. A, B.

Ἰώβ, ὃς οὐ μόνον, πρὸς τὰ ἐναντία τοῦ βίου μεταπεσόντος αὐτῷ, πένης ἐκ πλουσίου καὶ ἄπαις ἀπὸ καλλίπαιδος ἐν μιᾷ καιροῦ ῥοπῇ γενόμενος, διέμεινεν ὁ αὐτός, ἀταπείνωτον πανταχοῦ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς[1] φρόνημα διασώζων· ἀλλ' οὔτε τῶν φίλων, τῶν εἰς παραμυθίαν ἡκόντων, ἐπεμβαινόντων αὐτῷ καὶ συνεπιτεινόντων τὰ ἀλγεινά, παρωξύνθη. πάλιν σκοπῶν τις πῶς ἂν πρᾶος ἐν ταὐτῷ καὶ μεγαλόθυμος γένοιτο, ὥστε τῷ μὲν θυμῷ κατὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας κεχρῆσθαι τῇ δὲ πραότητι πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, εὑρήσει τὸν Δαβὶδ γενναῖον μὲν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον ἀνδραγαθήμασι, πρᾶον δὲ καὶ ἀκίνητον ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀντιδόσεσι. τοιοῦτος ἦν[2] καὶ Μωσῆς, μεγάλῳ μὲν τῷ θυμῷ κατὰ τῶν εἰς Θεὸν ἐξαμαρτανόντων διανιστάμενος, πραείᾳ δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ τὰς καθ' ἑαυτοῦ διαβολὰς ὑποφέρων. καὶ πανταχοῦ, ὥσπερ οἱ ζωγράφοι, ὅταν ἀπὸ εἰκόνων εἰκόνας[3] γράφωσι, πυκνὰ πρὸς τὸ παράδειγμα ἀποβλέποντες, τὸν ἐκεῖθεν χαρακτῆρα πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτῶν σπουδάζουσι μεταθεῖναι φιλοτέχνημα· οὕτω δεῖ καὶ τὸν ἐσπουδακότα ἑαυτὸν πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀπεργάσασθαι τέλειον, οἱονεὶ πρὸς ἀγάλματά τινα κινούμενα καὶ ἔμπρακτα, τοὺς βίους τῶν ἁγίων ἀποβλέπειν καὶ τὸ ἐκείνων ἀγαθὸν οἰκεῖον ποιεῖσθαι διὰ μιμήσεως.

Εὐχαὶ πάλιν τὰς ἀναγνώσεις διαδεχόμεναι νεαρωτέραν τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ἀκμαιοτέραν τῷ πρὸς Θεὸν πόθῳ κεκινημένην παραλαμβάνουσιν. εὐχὴ δὲ καλή, ἡ ἐναργῆ ἐμποιοῦσα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔννοιαν τῇ ψυχῇ. καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι Θεοῦ ἐνοίκησις, τὸ διὰ τῆς μνήμης ἐνιδρυμένον ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν Θεόν.

Fortitude he learns from Job, who, when the conditions of his life were reversed and he became in a moment of time poor instead of rich and childless when he had been blessed with fair children, remained the same, and always preserved his proud spirit unhumbled; nay, even when his friends who came to comfort him trampled upon him and helped to make his sorrow more grievous, he was not provoked to wrath. Again, if one considers how he may be at once meek and high-tempered, showing temper against sin, but meekness towards men, he will find David noble in the valiant exploits of war, but meek and dispassionate in the matter of requiting his enemies. Such too was Moses, who rose up in great wrath to oppose those who sinned against God, but endured with meekness of spirit all slanders against himself. And in general, just as painters in working from models constantly gaze at their exemplar and thus strive to transfer the expression of the original to their own artistry, so too he who is anxious to make himself perfect in all the kinds of virtue must gaze upon the lives of the saints as upon statues, so to speak, that move and act, and must make their excellence his own by imitation.

Prayer, again, following such reading finds the soul, stirred by yearning towards God, fresher and more vigorous. Prayer is to be commended, for it engenders in the soul a distinct conception of God. And the indwelling of God is this—to hold God ever in memory, His shrine established within us.

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[1] τῆς ψυχῆς om. C.
[2] ἦν om. Ed. Ben.; non tamen A, B, E.
[3] εἰκόνες εἰκόνα A, B

οὕτω γινόμεθα ναὸς Θεοῦ, ὅταν μὴ φροντίσι γηΐναις τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς μνήμης διακόπτηται, μηδὲ τοῖς ἀπροσδοκήτοις πάθεσιν ὁ νοῦς ἐκταράττηται, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀποφυγὼν ὁ φιλόθεος ἐπὶ Θεὸν ἀναχωρῇ, ἐξελαύνων τὰ προσκαλούμενα [1] αὐτὸν εἰς ἀκρασίαν πάθη, καὶ [2] τοῖς πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἄγουσιν ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐνδιατρίβῃ.

Καὶ πρῶτόν γε πάντων σπουδάζειν προσήκει, περὶ τὴν τοῦ λόγου χρῆσιν μὴ ἀμαθῶς ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἐρωτᾶν μὲν ἀφιλονείκως, ἀποκρίνεσθαι δὲ [3] ἀφιλοτίμως, μὴ διακόπτοντα τὸν προσδιαλεγόμενον, ὅταν τι χρήσιμον λέγῃ, μηδὲ ἐπιθυμοῦντα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον ἐπιδεικτικῶς παρεμβάλλειν, μέτρα ὁρίζοντα λόγῳ καὶ ἀκοῇ· μανθάνειν δὲ ἀνεπαισχύντως καὶ διδάσκειν ἀνεπιφθόνως· καὶ εἰ παρ' ἑτέρου δεδίδακται, μὴ ἐπικρύπτειν [4] ὥσπερ αἱ φαῦλαι τῶν γυναικῶν, αἱ τὰ νόθα ὑποβαλλόμεναι· ἀλλὰ κηρύσσειν εὐγνωμόνως τὸν πατέρα τοῦ λόγου. τόνος δὲ φωνῆς ὁ μέσος προτιμητέος, ὡς μήτε διαφεύγειν τὴν ἀκοὴν ὑπὸ σμικρότητος μήτε φορτικὸν εἶναι τῷ μεγέθει τῆς διατάσεως. προεξετάσαντα ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸ ῥηθησόμενον, οὕτω δημοσιεύειν τὸν λόγον. εὐπροσήγορον ἐν ταῖς ἐντεύξεσι, γλυκὺν ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις, οὐ διὰ τῆς εὐτραπελίας τὸ ἡδὺ θηρώμενον, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς εὐμενοῦς παρακλήσεως τὸ προσηνὲς ἔχοντα. πανταχοῦ τὸ τραχύ, κἂν ἐπιτιμῆσαι δέῃ, ἀπωθούμενον. προκαταβαλὼν γὰρ ἑαυτὸν διὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης, οὕτως εὐπαράδεκτος ἔσῃ τῷ δεομένῳ

[1] προκαλούμενα A, B, E.

[2] αὐτὸν . . . καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰς κακίαν A, B, E.

We thus become temples of God whenever earthly cares cease to interrupt the continuity of our memory of Him, whenever unforeseen passions cease to disturb our minds, and the lover of God, escaping them all, retires to God, driving out the passions which tempt him to incontinence, and abides in the practices which conduce to virtue.

And, first of all, one should take heed not to be boorish in conversation, but to ask questions without contentiousness, and answer without self-display; neither interrupting the speaker when he is saying something useful, nor being eager to interject his own words for the sake of ostentation, but observing moderation both in speaking and in listening. One should not be ashamed to learn, nor should he grudge to teach; and if one has learned something from another, one should not conceal the fact, as degraded wives practise concealment when they palm off bastard children as their own, but one should candidly acknowledge the father of his idea. The middle tone of voice is to be preferred, neither so soft as to elude the ears, nor so loud and strong as to be vulgar. One should first reflect upon what one is going to say, and then deliver one's speech. One should be affable in conversation and agreeable in social intercourse, not resorting to wit as a means of gaining popularity, but depending upon the charm which comes from gracious politeness. On all occasions abjure asperity, even when it is necessary to administer a rebuke; for if you first abase yourself and show humility, you will easily find your way to

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[3] καὶ om. editi; non tamen A, B, C, E, F.
[4] ἐπικρυπτόμενον C, E.

τῆς θεραπείας· πολλάκις δὲ χρήσιμος ἡμῖν καὶ ὁ τοῦ προφήτου τρόπος τῆς ἐπιπλήξεως, ὃς τῷ Δαβὶδ ἁμαρτόντι οὐ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπήγαγε τὸν ὅρον τῆς καταδίκης, ἀλλ' ὑποβολῇ προσώπου χρησάμενος, αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τοῦ ἰδίου δικαστὴν[1] ἐκάθισεν ἁμαρτήματος· ὥστε αὐτὸν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ προεξενεγκόντα τὴν κρίσιν μηδὲν ἔτι μέμψασθαι τὸν ἐλέγξαντα.

Ἕπεται δὲ τῷ ταπεινῷ καὶ κατεβεβλημένῳ φρονήματι ὄμμα στυγνὸν καὶ εἰς γῆν συννενευκός, σχῆμα ἠμελημένον, κόμη αὐχμηρά, ἐσθὴς ῥυπῶσα· ὥστε ἃ ποιοῦσιν οἱ πενθοῦντες κατ' ἐπιτήδευσιν, ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου ἡμῖν ἐπιφαίνεσθαι. χιτὼν διὰ ζώνης προσεσταλμένος τῷ σώματι· τὸ μέντοι ζῶσμα μήτε ἄνω τῶν λαγόνων, γυναικῶδες γάρ· μήτε χαῦνον, ὥστε διαῤῥεῖν τὸν χιτῶνα, βλακικὸν[2] γάρ· καὶ τὸ βάδισμα μήτε νωθρόν, ὡς ἔκλυσιν τῆς ψυχῆς κατηγορεῖν, μηδ' αὖ σφοδρὸν καὶ σεσοβημένον, ὡς ἐμπλήκτους αὐτῆς τὰς ὁρμὰς ὑποφαίνειν. σκοπὸς ἐσθῆτος εἷς, κάλυμμα εἶναι σαρκὸς πρὸς χειμῶνα καὶ θέρος αὔταρκες· μήτε δὲ ἐν χρώματι τὸ ἀνθηρὸν διωκέσθω μήτε ἐν τῇ κατασκευῇ τὸ λεπτὸν καὶ μαλακόν· τὸ γὰρ τὰς ἐν ἐσθῆτι εὐχροίας περισκοπεῖν ἴσον ἐστὶ γυναικείῳ καλλωπισμῷ, ὃν ἐκεῖναι ἐπιτηδεύουσιν, ἀλλοτρίῳ ἄνθει παρειὰς καὶ τρίχας ἑαυτῶν κατα-

[1] κριτὴν A, B.   [2] βλαπτικὸν E.

the heart of him who needs your ministrations. We also frequently find useful the method of rebuke employed by the prophet,[1] who did not of himself set a definite penalty on David when he sinned, but employed a fictitious character and constituted David judge of his own sin; so David first pronounced judgment against himself, and after that could not find any fault with his censor.

The humble and abject spirit is attended by a gloomy and downcast eye, neglected appearance, unkempt hair, and dirty clothes[2]; consequently the characteristics which mourners effect designedly are found in us as a matter of course. The tunic should be drawn close to the body by a girdle; but let the belt not be above the flank, for that is effeminate, nor loose, so as to let the tunic slip through, for that is slovenly; and the stride should be neither sluggish, which would argue a laxity of mind, nor, on the other hand, brisk and swaggering, which would indicate that its impulses were rash. As for dress, its sole object is to be a covering for the flesh adequate for winter and summer. And let neither brilliancy of colour be sought, nor delicacy and softness of material; for seeking after bright colours in clothing is on a parity with women's practice of beautifying themselves by tinting their cheeks and dyeing their hair with artificial lustre. However,

[1] Cf. 2 Samuel 11 and 12. David committed adultery with Bethsabee, and caused her husband, Urias, to be slain, that he might marry Bethsabee and so conceal his sin. The prophet Nathan assumed a similar crime, and caused David unwittingly to pronounce judgment against himself.

[2] The mark of the old pagan philosophers. Cf. Aristoph., *Birds*, 1282, ἐῤῥύπων, ἐσωκράτων, "they were dirty, they were like Socrates."

βάπτουσαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ παχύτητος οὕτως ἔχειν ὁ χιτὼν ὀφείλει ὡς μὴ δεῖσθαι κοινωνοῦ πρὸς τὸ θάλπειν τὸν ἐνδυόμενον. ὑπόδημα δὲ τὸ εὐτελὲς μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν, ἀνενδεῶς δὲ τὴν χρείαν ἀποπληροῦν.

Καὶ *ἁπαξαπλῶς, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐνδύματι ἡγεῖσθαι προσήκει τὸ χρειῶδες, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τροφῇ ἄρτος ἐκπληρώσει τὴν χρείαν καὶ ὕδωρ θεραπεύσει τὴν δίψαν τῷ ὑγιαίνοντι καὶ ὅσα ἐκ σπερμάτων παροψήματα πρὸς τὰς ἀναγκαίας χρείας τὴν ἰσχὺν τῷ σώματι δύναται διασώσασθαι. ἐσθίειν δὲ μὴ λυσσώδη γαστριμαργίαν ἐμφαίνοντα, ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ τὸ εὐσταθὲς καὶ πρᾶον καὶ περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἐγκρατὲς διασώζοντα· μηδὲ τότε τὸν νοῦν ἀργὸν ἐν τῇ περὶ* Θεοῦ *ἐννοίᾳ ἔχοντα, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν τῶν βρωμάτων τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὑποδεχομένου σώματος κατασκευὴν ἀφορμὴν ποιεῖσθαι δοξολογίας· πῶς ποικίλα εἴδη τροφῶν τῇ ἰδιότητι τῶν σωμάτων ἁρμόζοντα παρὰ τοῦ πάντα οἰκονομοῦντος ἐπινενόηται. εὐχαὶ πρὸ τῆς τροφῆς ἀξίως γινέσθωσαν τῶν τοῦ* Θεοῦ *παροχῶν, ὧν τε νῦν δίδωσι, καὶ ὧν πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐταμιεύσατο. εὐχαὶ μετὰ τροφὴν*[1] *εὐχαριστίαν τῶν δεδομένων ἔχουσαι καὶ αἴτησιν τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων. ὥρα μία τροφῆς ἀποτεταγμένη, ἡ αὐτὴ κατὰ περίοδον ἀπαντῶσα· ὡς ἐκ τῶν εἴκοσι τεσσάρων ὡρῶν τοῦ ἡμερονυκτίου μίαν εἶναι μόλις*[2] *ταύτην τὴν προσαναλισκομένην τῷ σώματι, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἐν τῇ κατὰ νοῦν ἐνεργείᾳ*[3] *ἀπασχολεῖσθαι*[4] *τὸν ἀσκητήν.*

[1] *τρυφὰς* C, E.

[2] *μόλις* om. A, B, F.

the tunic ought to be of such thickness that it will require no auxiliary garment to keep the wearer warm. The sandal should be inexpensive, yet completely adequate to one's needs.

And in general, just as one should consider practical utility in the matter of clothing, so too, in the matter of food, bread will satisfy actual needs, water will cure the thirst, if one is healthy, and there are besides all the dishes of vegetables and fruits that help to preserve the body's strength for inevitable needs. And one should not exhibit frantic gluttony in eating, but on all occasions should preserve composure, gentleness, and restraint as regards the pleasures of the palate. And not even at table should one allow the mind to be unoccupied with thoughts of God, but one should make the very nature of the food and the structure of the body that receives it an occasion for His glorification. What varied forms of nutriment suited to the peculiarity of bodies have been conceived by Him who dispenseth all things! Before meals let prayers be said worthy of the bounties which God both gives now and has stored up for the future. After meals let prayers be said that include thanksgiving for the gifts received, and petitions for those promised. Let one hour, the same regularly each day, be set aside for food, so that out of the twenty-four hours of day and night, barely shall this one be expended on the body, the ascetic devoting the remainder to the activities of the mind.

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[3] ἐργασίᾳ A, B.
[4] ἀπασχολεῖν C; ἀποπληροῦν E.

Ὕπνοι δὲ κοῦφοι καὶ εὐαπάλλακτοι, φυσικῶς ἀκολουθοῦντες τῷ συμμέτρῳ[1] τῆς διαίτης· κατ' ἐπιτήδευσιν δὲ ταῖς περὶ τῶν μεγάλων μερίμναις διακοπτόμενοι. τὸ γὰρ βαθεῖ κάρῳ κατακρατεῖσθαι, λυομένων αὐτοῦ[2] τῶν μελῶν, ὥστε σχολὴν ἀλόγοις[3] φαντασίαις παρέχειν, ἐν καθημερινῷ θανάτῳ ποιεῖ τοὺς οὕτω καθεύδοντας. ἀλλ' ὅπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁ ὄρθρος ἐστί, τοῦτο τοῖς ἀσκηταῖς τῆς εὐσεβείας τὸ μεσονύκτιον, μάλιστα σχολὴν τῇ ψυχῇ τῆς νυκτερινῆς ἡσυχίας χαριζομένης, οὔτε ὀφθαλμῶν οὔτε ὤτων βλαβερὰς ἀκοὰς ἢ θέας ἐπὶ καρδίαν παραπεμπόντων, ἀλλὰ μόνου καθ' ἑαυτὸν τοῦ νοῦ τῷ Θεῷ συνόντος, καὶ διορθουμένου μὲν ἑαυτὸν[4] τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων, ὅρους δὲ ἑαυτῷ τιθέντος πρὸς τὴν ἔκκλισιν τοῦ κακοῦ, καὶ τὴν παρὰ Θεοῦ συνεργίαν εἰς τὴν τελείωσιν τῶν σπουδαζομένων ἐπιζητοῦντος.

III

Κανδιδιανῷ

Ὅτε εἰς χεῖρας ἔλαβον τὴν ἐπιστολήν σου, ἔπαθόν τι ἀκοῆς ἄξιον. εὐλαβήθην αὐτὴν ὥς τι δημόσιον προσαγγέλλουσαν, καὶ παρ' ὃν ἐξέλυον καιρὸν τὸν κηρόν, ἐφοβούμην προσβλέπων,[5] ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐν αἰτίαις ὢν Σπαρτιάτης Λακωνικὴν

[1] λεπτῇ C, F, Ed. Ben.; συμμέτρῳ A, B, E, F in marg.
[2] αὐτῷ F.
[3] ἀτόποις A B.
[4] ἐν add. C, E.
[5] προβλέπων C, D.

Sleep should be light and easily broken, such as naturally follows a moderate diet; and it should be interrupted deliberately by meditations on high themes. For to be overcome by heavy torpor, in which the limbs are relaxed and play is given to foolish fantasies, causes those who sleep in this fashion to experience a daily death. On the contrary, what is cock-crow for the rest of men is midnight for the practisers of piety, when the quiet of night grants most leisure to the soul, when neither the eyes nor the ears conduct harmful sounds or sights to the heart, but the mind alone with itself communes with God, corrects itself through the recollection of past sins, sets up its barriers to ward off evil, and seeks God's aid for the consummation of its longings.

LETTER III

To Candidianus [1]

When I received your letter, I experienced a feeling that is worthy of your hearing. I stood in awe of it, as if it brought some state announcement, and while I broke the seal, I shuddered at the sight of it as no guilty Spartan ever did at

[1] Placed at the beginning of Basil's retirement to Pontus, and written to a governor of Cappadocia, who was a close friend to Basil and to Gregory of Nazianzus.

σκυτάλην. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔλυσα, καὶ πάνθ'[1] ἕκαστα ἐπεξῆλθον, γελάσαι μοι ἐπῆλθε, τοῦτο μὲν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς, τοῦ μηδὲν ἀκοῦσαι νεώτερον, τοῦτο δὲ πρὸς τὰ Δημοσθένους τὰ σὰ κρίναντι. ὅτι ὁ μέν, ἐπειδὴ ὀλίγοις τισὶ χορευταῖς καὶ αὐληταῖς ἐχορήγει, οὐκέτι ἠξίου Δημοσθένης, ἀλλὰ χορηγὸς ὀνομάζεσθαι· σὺ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς εἶ, καὶ χορηγῶν καὶ μὴ (χορηγῶν μέντοι πλείοσι[2] μυριάσι στρατιωτῶν ἢ ὅσοις ἀνδράσιν ἐκεῖνος παρέσχε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια), ὅς γε οὐθ' ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος ἐπιστέλλεις, ἀλλὰ τὸν εἰωθότα τρόπον· καὶ τῆς περὶ λόγους σπουδῆς οὐδὲν ὑφίεσαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος, ἐν χειμῶνι καὶ ζάλῃ[3] πραγμάτων, οἷον ὑπὸ τείχει[4] τινὶ καρτερῷ ἀποστάς, οὐδενὸς θορύβου τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναπίμπλασαι· μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ ἑτέρους ἐᾷς,[5] τό γε σαυτοῦ μέρος.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν σὰ τοιαῦτα,[6] μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ τοῖς συνορᾷν δυναμένοις, καὶ πάλιν οὐ θαυμαστὰ[7] τῷ πρὸς τὴν ὅλην προαίρεσιν τοῦ βίου κρίνοντι. ἄκουε δὴ καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα, παράδοξά τε ὄντα καὶ ἀκολούθως ἡμῖν ἀπαντῶντα.

Ἀνήρ τις ἄγροικος τῶν συνοικούντων ἡμῖν ἐν Ἀννήσοις,[8] οἰκέτου μου τελευτήσαντος, οὐ συμβό-

[1] πάνθ' om. A, Ed. Ben.; non tamen B, C, D, E, F.
[2] πλείονα A, B, F.
[3] χαλάζῃ A, B.
[4] τεῖχός τι καρτερὸν A, B, C, D.
[5] οὔτε θορύβους add. E, F.
[6] οὕτω add. A, B al. m., C, D, F.
[7] τοῖς συνορᾷν . . . οὐ θαυμαστὰ om. E.
[8] Ἀννίσοις B, C, D, F.

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[1] The staff around which a strip of leather was rolled slantwise. The message was written lengthwise thereon, so

the Laconian *skytalé*.[1] But when I opened it, and had read it all carefully, I began to laugh, partly through the joy of finding nothing alarming, and partly in comparing your situation with that of Demosthenes. You are aware that when he acted as choregus to some few dancers and flute-players, he asked to be called no longer Demosthenes, but Choregus.[2] You, on the other hand, are the same, whether acting as choregus or not—although you so provide for more myriads of soldiers than is the number of the persons to whom Demosthenes furnished their requirements—since you do not write to us according to your station, but in your usual manner. And you have in no way given up your love of letters. Nay, as Plato [3] says, in a very "storm and surge" of affairs you "withdraw under the shelter of a strong wall," as it were, and contaminate your soul by no disturbance—or rather, I should say, you do not suffer others, either, to do this, so far as in you lies to prevent it.

Such is your conduct; to those who are able to take it in, it seems great and wonderful; and yet it is not wonderful to one who can judge it with reference to the whole purpose of your life. Listen now to *my* story, which is incredible and yet actually occurred to us. It is as follows.

One of my servants died; a boorish fellow of our community of Annesi, without making known that

that when the leather was unrolled the writing became unintelligible. The recipient was supposed to have a similar staff around which he could roll the leather strip and thereby read it. This device was used by the Spartans for messages of state.

[2] Plutarch, *Mor.* 817 C (*Prae. Ger. Reipub.*).

[3] *Rep.* VI. 10.

λαιον τι πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπὼν[1] ἐσχηκέναι, οὐ[2] προσελθών μοι, οὐκ ἐπαιτιασάμενος, οὐ παρ' ἑκόντος ἀξιώσας λαβεῖν, οὐκ ἀπειλήσας εἰ μὴ λάβοι βιάσασθαι, ἀθρόον[3] μετά τινων ὁμοίων αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν ἐπιθέμενος ἡμῶν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, τά τε γύναια τὰ φυλάττοντα συνέτριψε τύπτων, καὶ καταρρήξας τὰς θύρας ἐξεφόρησεν ἅπαντα, τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς λαβών, τὰ δὲ εἰς διαρπαγὴν τοῖς βουλομένοις προθείς.

Ἵν' οὖν μὴ ὁ ἔσχατος ὅρος ἡμεῖς τῆς ἀσθενείας ὦμεν καὶ παντὶ δόξωμεν ἐπιτήδειοι πρὸς ἐπιχείρησιν, ἣν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς πράγμασιν[4] ἡμῶν σπουδὴν ἐπιδέδειξαι, καὶ νῦν εἰσενέγκασθαι παρακλήθητι. μόνως γὰρ ἂν ἡμῖν οὕτω τὸ ἄπραγμον σώζοιτο, εἰ τῷ σῷ δραστηρίῳ[5] συντεταγμένοι εἴημεν. γένοιτο δ' ἂν ἡμῖν ἀρκοῦσα δίκη, εἰ διὰ τοῦ παγάρχου συλληφθεὶς ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ βραχὺν κατακλεισθείη χρόνον. καὶ γὰρ οὐχ ὑπὲρ ὧν πεπόνθαμεν ἀγανακτοῦμεν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀσφαλείας δεόμεθα.

IV

Ὀλυμπίῳ

Οἷα ποιεῖς, ὦ θαυμάσιε, τὴν φίλην ἡμῖν πενίαν καὶ φιλοσοφίας τροφὸν τῆς ἐσχατιᾶς ἀπελαύνων;

[1] εἰπὼν om. E, F. [2] οὐ om. A, B.
[3] ἀθρόως E. [4] προστάγμασιν E.
[5] δικαστηρίῳ C.

About 358. Olympius was a wealthy layman of

he had had a contract with him, without coming to me about it, without putting in a claim, without demanding payment, although I was ready to pay, without threatening violence if he were not paid, of a sudden, with certain desperadoes like himself, attacked my house, beat and pounded the women-servants who guarded it, then broke down the doors, and carried off everything, taking some of the articles with his own hands, and offering the rest as plunder to whoever wished for them.

Now, in order that I may not be the very extreme of impotence, and that I may not seem to everybody a fair object of attack, pray bring now that zeal to bear which you have hitherto shown in all my affairs. For my tranquillity can only be preserved by my being placed under your efficient protection. As far as I am concerned, the culprit's punishment would be sufficient only if he were arrested by the district magistrate and locked up in jail for a short time. For I am not only indignant at what I have suffered, but I am also in need of security for the future.

LETTER IV

To Olympius[1]

What do you mean, my dear Sir, by trying to drive my dear friend Poverty, nurse of philosophy, away from my retreat? In my opinion she would

Neocaesarea, and an influential friend and trusted sympathizer to Basil in his later troubles. Basil here very cleverly thanks him for certain gifts, while pretending to object to the receiving of such worldly things in his seclusion.

οἶμαι γὰρ ἄν σε καὶ ἐξούλης γραφὴν ὑπ' αὐτῆς φεύγειν, εἴ τις αὐτῇ προσγένοιτο λόγος· ὅτι τούτῳ [1] *συνοικεῖν εἱλόμην ἐγὼ νῦν μὲν τὸν Ζήνωνα ἐπαινοῦντι, ὃς ναυαγίῳ πάντα ἀποβαλὼν οὐδὲν ἀγεννὲς ἐφθέγξατο, ἀλλ', εὖγε, εἶπεν, ὦ τύχη,* [2] *συνελαύνεις ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸ τριβώνιον, νῦν δὲ τὸν Κλεάνθην μισθῷ ὕδωρ τοῦ φρέατος ἀπαντλοῦντα, ὅθεν αὐτός τε διέζη καὶ τοῖς διδασκάλοις μισθοὺς ὑπετέλει. τὸν δὲ Διογένην οὐδὲ ἐπαύσατό ποτε θαυμάζων τοῖς παρὰ τῆς φύσεως μόνοις ἀρκεῖσθαι φιλοτιμούμενον, ὡς καὶ τὸ κισσύβιον ἀποῤῥῖψαι, ἐπειδήπερ παρὰ παιδὸς ἐδιδάχθη κοίλαις ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπικύπτων* [3] *πίνειν. ταῦτα ἄν σοι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡ σύνοικος ἡμῖν* [4] *πενία μέμψαιτο, ταῖς μεγαλοδωρεαῖς ἐξοικισθεῖσα νῦν. προσθείη δὲ καὶ ἀπειλήν τινα· ὅτι, εἴ σε ἐνταῦθα πάλιν λάβοιμι, Σικελικὴν ἢ Ἰταλιῶτιν τρυφὴν ἀποδείξω τὰ πρότερα· οὕτω σε ἀκριβῶς τοῖς παρ' ἐμαυτῆς ἀμυνοῦμαι.*

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα. ἥσθην δὲ ἀκούσας ἦρχθαί σε τῆς θεραπείας ἤδη, καὶ εὔχομαί σε ὄνασθαι αὐτῆς. πρέποι δ' ἂν τῇ ἱερᾷ σου ψυχῇ ἄλυπος ὑπηρεσία σώματος.

[1] *τούτῳ* : add. *μὲν* A, B, C.
[2] *τύχη* : add. *ὅτι* C.
[3] *ἐγκύπτων* A, B, C.
[4] *ἡμῖν* (ῖ fr. ῶ) F ; *ἡμῖν* A, B, C, E ; *ἡμῶν* Ed. Ben.

prosecute you with an action for ejectment, if she could acquire the power of speech. She would probably say, "I chose to live with Basil because he at one time praises Zeno, who, on losing all in a shipwreck, uttered no ignoble word, but only 'Bravo, Fortune! You lend a hand in driving me into the philosopher's cloak;'[1] and because at another time he praises Cleanthes, who drew water from a well[2] for hire and thereby procured his means of livelihood and money to pay his teachers' fees. As for Diogenes, Basil never ceased admiring him, the philosopher who was so set upon being content with nothing but the gifts of nature that he even threw away his drinking-cup, after he had learned from a boy how to bend over and drink from the hollow of his hands." In some such manner my housemate, Poverty, might chide you for having driven her at this time from my house by your munificence. And she might even add some such threat as this: "If I catch you here again, I will show your past life to have been of Sicilian or Italian luxury, so relentlessly will I pay you off by the means at my command."

But I have written enough in this strain. I am glad to hear that you have already begun the course of treatment, and I pray that you will derive benefit from it. It would befit your holy soul that the service rendered by your body should be without pain.

[1] Later adopted by the monks. Cf. Lucian, *Pereg.* 15; and Synesius, *Ep.* 147.

[2] Cleanthes was also called Phreantlus (Φρέαντλος), "one who draws from a well." Cf. Val. Max. VIII. 7; Sen. *Ep.* 44.

V

Νεκταρίῳ παραμυθητική [1]

Οὔπω εἶχον τρίτην ἢ τετάρτην ἡμέραν πληγεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκοῇ τοῦ ἀφορήτου πάθους καὶ ἔτι ἀμφίβολος ὢν διὰ τὸ μηδὲ σαφῶς δυνηθῆναι ἡμῖν τῶν ἀνιαρῶν τὸν μηνυτὴν τὸ συμβὰν διηγήσασθαι, καὶ τῷ ἀπεύχεσθαι ἀληθῆ εἶναι δυσπαραδέκτως ἔχων πρὸς τὰ θρυλλούμενα, ἐδεξάμην γράμμα [2] τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἀκριβῶς σημαῖνον [3] τὴν ἀπευκτὴν ἀγγελίαν. ἐφ' ᾧ ὅσον μὲν ἐστέναξα καὶ ὅσον ἀφῆκα δάκρυον, τί χρὴ καὶ λέγειν; καὶ γὰρ τίς οὕτω λίθινος τὴν καρδίαν ἢ ἔξω παντελῶς τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ὥστε ἀπαθῶς ἐνεγκεῖν τὸ συμβὰν ἢ μετρίῳ πάθει [4] τὴν ψυχὴν καταληφθῆναι;

Οἴκου λαμπροῦ [5] διαδοχή, ἔρεισμα γένους, πατρίδος ἐλπίς, γονέων εὐσεβῶν βλάστημα ὑπὸ μυρίαις εὐχαῖς ἐντραφέν, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἄνθει τῆς ἡλικίας ὤν,[6] ἐκ μέσου τῶν πατρικῶν χειρῶν ἀναρπασθεὶς οἴχεται. ταῦτα ποίαν ἀδάμαντος φύσιν οὐχ ἱκανὰ ἐκλῦσαι καὶ εἰς συμπάθειαν ἀγαγεῖν; ὥστε οὐδὲν μέγα, εἰ καὶ ἡμῶν διὰ βάθους ἥψατο τὸ κακόν, ὁλοκλήρως ἐξ ἀρχῆς προσπεφυκότων ὑμῖν καὶ τάς τε εὐφροσύνας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς λύπας ἰδίας ἑαυτῶν ποιουμένων.

[1] Νεκταρίῳ παραμυθητικὴ ἐπὶ τῷ υἱῷ C; πρὸς Νεκτάριον τὸν υἱὸν ἀποβαλόντα D, F.

[2] γράμματα B.

[3] σημαίνοντα B.

[4] μετριωπαθῆ B, C, D, F.

[5] λαμπρὰ C, D.

[6] ὂν Ed. Ben.; non tamen A, B, C, D, F.

LETTER V

To Nectarius, in Consolation [1]

It was not yet the third or fourth day after I had been shocked by the news of your intolerable misfortune, and I was still in perplexity because the bearer of the distressing message was unable to tell clearly all that had happened, and so earnestly was I praying that it might not be true that I was reluctant to give ear to the common report, when I received a letter from the bishop which fully disclosed the sad tidings. How greatly I mourned thereat, and what tears I shed, why need I tell? For who is so stony of heart or so entirely without human feeling as to endure such a blow with complete indifference, or to experience in soul but a moderate grief?

The heir of an illustrious house, the bulwark of his race, the hope of his fatherland, the offspring of pious parents, a lad nurtured amid countless prayers, in the very flower of youth—he is gone, torn from the very arms of his parents. Is there a heart of adamant that such things would not melt and draw to a feeling of compassion? It is therefore no strange thing that your misfortune deeply touched us also, who from the beginning have been wholly attached to you, and have made your joys and griefs our very own. And yet

[1] *Circa* 358. Tillemont, probably correctly, identifies this Nectarius with the future bishop of Constantinople (381–397), successor of St. Gregory Nazianzen and predecessor of St. John Chrysostom. He appears as St. Nectarius in the Orthodox Menaion for 11 October. Cf. Letter VI, p. 40, note 1.

καίτοιγε ἐδόκει, τόν γε μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος χρόνου, ὀλίγα εἶναι τὰ λυποῦντα ὑμᾶς, ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις δὲ κατὰ ῥοῦν ὑμῖν τὰ πράγματα φέρεσθαι· ἀλλ' ἀθρόως, βασκανίᾳ δαίμονος, πᾶσα ἐκείνη τοῦ οἴκου[1] *ἡ εὐθηνία καὶ τῶν ψυχῶν*[2] *ἡ φαιδρότης ἠφάνισται, καὶ ἐγενόμεθα τῷ βίῳ διήγημα σκυθρωπόν. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ποτνιᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσι καὶ δακρύειν βουλώμεθα, οὐκ ἐξαρκέσει ἡμῖν ὁ χρόνος τοῦ βίου· πάντες δὲ ἄνθρωποι μεθ' ἡμῶν στένοντες παρισῶσαι τῷ πάθει τὸν ὀδυρμὸν οὐ δυνήσονται· ἀλλὰ κἂν τὰ τῶν ποταμῶν ῥεύματα*[3] *δάκρυον γένηται, ἐκπληρῶσαι τῶν συμβάντων τὸν θρῆνον οὐκ ἐξαρκέσει.*

Ἐὰν μέντοι θελήσωμεν τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ δῶρον ὃ ἐναπέθετο ἐν[4] *ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν προενεγκεῖν νῦν· τὸν λογισμὸν λέγω τὸν σώφρονα, ὃς καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐημερίαις μέτρα οἶδε ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν ὁρίζειν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς κατηφεστέραις περιστάσεσιν εἰς ὑπόμνησιν ἄγειν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ ὑποβάλλειν ἡμῖν ἅ τε εἴδομεν, ἅ τε ἠκούσαμεν, ὅτι γέμει ὁ βίος τῶν τοιούτων παθῶν, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων συμφορῶν ἐστὶ τὰ ὑποδείγματα, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, ὅτι πρόσταγμα Θεοῦ ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ λυπεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς κεκοιμημένοις τοὺς εἰς Χριστὸν πεπιστευκότας, διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς ἀναστάσεως, καὶ ὅτι τῆς μεγάλης ὑπομονῆς μεγάλοι παρὰ τῷ ἀθλοθέτῃ στέφανοι δόξης ἀπόκεινται· ἐὰν ἐπιτρέψωμεν τῷ λογισμῷ ταῦτα ἡμῖν κατεπ-*

[1] *ἐκείνου* add. A, B, C, D. [2] *τῶν ψυχῶν* om. A, B, C, D. [3] *τὸ . . . ῥεύματα* A, B, C, D.

hitherto at least it has always seemed that your griefs were few in number, and that for the most part your affairs ran smoothly with the stream; but suddenly, through the malice of the devil,[1] all that happiness of home and that gladness of heart has been swept away, and our whole life has become a dismal tale. If, therefore, we would indulge in protestations and in tears because of what has happened, the span of our lives will not suffice; and though all mankind should mourn with us, they will not be able to match our sorrow with their lamentation; nay, even if the waters of the rivers should become tears,[2] they would not suffice to satisfy our grief for what has happened.

If, however, we wish to make use of God's gift, which He has implanted within our hearts, we shall be comforted. By His gift I mean that sober reason, which knows how, both in fair weather to keep our souls within bounds, and, when the sky is more cloudy, to remind us of the lot of man, suggesting to us (what we have already both seen and heard) that life is full of such afflictions, that the examples of human misfortune are many, and above all, that it is God's command that those who put their trust in Christ shall not grieve for those who have been laid to rest, because of their hope of the resurrection, and again, that for great endurance great crowns of glory await us at the hands of the Judge. If, then, we permit reason to whisper to us these reminders, perchance we

Cf. Luke 13. 16; 2 Cor. 12. 7.
[2] Cf. Lam. 2. 18.

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[1] ἐν om. Ed. Ben.; non tamen A, B, C, D.

ᾄδειν, τάχα ἂν εὕροιμέν τινα μετρίαν τοῦ κακοῦ λύσιν. διὸ παρακαλῶ σε ὡς γενναῖον ἀγωνιστὴν στῆναι πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πληγῆς, καὶ μὴ ὑποπεσεῖν τῷ βάρει τῆς λύπης, μηδὲ καταποθῆναι τὴν ψυχήν, ἐκεῖνο πεπεισμένον, ὅτι κἂν οἱ λόγοι τῶν παρὰ Θεοῦ οἰκονομουμένων διαφεύγωσιν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ πάντως γε τὸ παρὰ τοῦ σοφοῦ καὶ ἀγαπῶντος ἡμᾶς οἰκονομηθὲν ἀποδεκτόν ἐστι, κἂν ἐπίπονον ᾖ. αὐτὸς γὰρ οἶδε πῶς ἑκάστῳ διατίθησι τὸ συμφέρον καὶ διὰ τί ἄνισα τίθησιν[1] ἡμῖν τοῦ βίου τὰ πέρατα. ἔστι γάρ τις αἰτία ἀνθρώποις ἀκατάληπτος, δι' ἣν οἱ μὲν θᾶττον ἐντεῦθεν ἀπάγονται, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖον προσταλαιπωρεῖν τῷ ὀδυνηρῷ τούτῳ βίῳ καταλιμπάνονται.

Ὥστε ἐπὶ πᾶσι προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ὀφείλομεν καὶ μὴ δυσχεραίνειν, μεμνημένοι τῆς μεγάλης ἐκείνης καὶ ἀοιδίμου φωνῆς ἣν ὁ μέγας ἀθλητὴς Ἰὼβ ἀνεφθέγξατο, ἐπὶ μιᾶς τραπέζης ἰδὼν δέκα παῖδας ἐν βραχείᾳ καιροῦ ῥοπῇ συντριβέντας· Ὁ Κύριος ἔδωκεν, ὁ Κύριος ἀφείλετο· ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ ἔδοξεν, οὕτω καὶ ἐγένετο. ἡμέτερον ποιησώμεθα τὸ θαῦμα τοῦτο· ἴσος ὁ μισθὸς παρὰ τοῦ δικαίου κριτοῦ τοῖς τὰ ἴσα ἐπιδεικνυμένοις ἀνδραγαθήματα. οὐκ ἀπεστερήθημεν τοῦ παιδός, ἀλλ' ἀπεδώκαμεν τῷ χρήσαντι· οὐδὲ ἠφανίσθη αὐτοῦ ἡ ζωή, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον διημείφθη· οὐ γῆ κατέκρυψε τὸν ἀγαπητὸν ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' οὐρανὸς ὑπεδέξατο. μικρὸν ἀναμείνωμεν, καὶ συνεσόμεθα τῷ ποθουμένῳ. οὐδὲ πολὺς ὁ

[1] τίθησιν om. C, D.

shall find some slight relief from our trouble. Wherefore I exhort you, as a noble contestant, to stand firm against the blow, however great, and not to fall under the weight of your grief, nor yet to lose your courage, having assurance that even if the reasons for God's ordinances elude us, yet surely that which is ordained by Him who is wise and who loves us must be accepted, even if it be painful. For He Himself knows how He dispenses to each that which is best for him, and for what reason He sets for us unequal terms of life. For there exists a reason, incomprehensible to man, why some are sooner taken hence, while others are left behind to persevere for a longer time in this life of sorrows.

Therefore, above all, we ought to revere His loving-kindness and not repine, remembering that great and famous saying uttered by the great combatant Job when he saw his ten children in a brief moment of time slain at a single meal: "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away: as it hath pleased the Lord, so is it done."[1] Let us make these marvellous words our own; equal is the reward at the hands of the righteous Judge for those who exhibit equally noble deeds. We have not been bereft of the boy, but we have given him back to the lender; nor has his life been destroyed, but merely transformed for the better; earth has not covered our beloved one, but heaven has received him. Let us abide a brief space, and we shall be with him whose loss we mourn. Nor will the period of separation be great, since in this life, as on a journey, we are all hastening to the same

[1] Job 1. 21.

χρόνος τῆς διαστάσεως, πάντων ὥσπερ ἐν ὁδῷ τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ καταγώγιον ἐπειγομένων· ἐν ᾧ ὁ μὲν προκατέλυσεν, ὁ δὲ ἐπῆλθεν, ὁ δὲ ἐπείγεται,[1] *πάντας δὲ ἓν ὑποδέξεται τέλος. εἰ γὰρ καὶ θᾶττον τὴν ὁδὸν προκατέλυσεν, ἀλλὰ πάντες τὴν αὐτὴν πορευσόμεθα καὶ πάντας τὸ αὐτὸ ἀναμένει κατάλυμα. μόνον γένοιτο ἡμᾶς δι' ἀρετῆς τῇ καθαρότητι ἐκείνου ὁμοιωθῆναι, ἵνα διὰ τὸ ἄδολον τοῦ ἤθους τῆς αὐτῆς τοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ νηπίοις ἀναπαύσεως ἐπιτύχωμεν.*[2]

VI

Πρὸς τὴν ὁμόζυγον[3] *Νεκταρίου παραμυθητική.*[4]

Ἔμελλον ἀποσιωπᾶν πρὸς τὴν κοσμιότητά σου, λογιζόμενος ὅτι, ὥσπερ ὀφθαλμῷ φλεγμαίνοντι καὶ τὸ ἁπαλώτατον τῶν παρηγορημάτων ἀνίαν ἐμποιεῖ, οὕτω καὶ ψυχῇ ὑπὸ[5] *θλίψεως βαρείας κεκακωμένῃ, κἂν πολλὴν παράκλησιν φέρῃ, ὁ λόγος ὀχληρός πως εἶναι δοκεῖ, ἐν τῇ περιωδυνίᾳ προσφερόμενος. ἐπεὶ δέ με*[6] *εἰσῆλθεν ὅτι πρὸς Χριστιανήν μοι ὁ λόγος ἔσται πάλαι πεπαιδευμένην τὰ θεῖα καὶ ἐμπαράσκευον οὖσαν πρὸς τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, οὐκ ἐνόμισα δίκαιον εἶναι παραλιπεῖν τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μοι. οἶδα ποταπὰ τῶν μητέρων τὰ σπλάγχνα καί, ὅταν ἰδίως τὸ σὸν περὶ πάντας χρηστὸν καὶ ἥμερον ἐνθυμηθῶ, λογίζομαι πόσην*

[1] *τῷ ποθουμένῳ . . . ἐπείγεται* om. B; *οὐδὲ πολὺς . . ὑποδέξεται τέλος* om. C, D.
[2] *τύχωμεν* A, B, C, D. [3] *ὁμόζυγα* E, F.
[4] *ἐπὶ τῷ παιδί* add. F. [5] *ἀπὸ* C. [6] *μοι* C, D.

caravansary ; and although one has already taken up his lodging there, and another has just arrived, and another is hastening thither, yet the same goal will receive us all. For even though your son has finished his journey first, nevertheless we shall all travel the same path, and the same hospice awaits us all.[1] Only may God grant that we through virtue may become like to him in purity, that by the blamelessness of our character we may obtain the same repose as the children of Christ.

LETTER VI

To the Wife of Nectarius, in Consolation[2]

It was my purpose to maintain silence towards you, gentle lady, considering that just as to the eye when inflamed even the most delicate of soothing applications causes irritation, so to the soul, when afflicted by a crushing weight of sorrow, words offered in the very moment of anguish, even though full of comfort, seem vexatious. When it occurred to me, however, that I should be speaking to a Christian, long since instructed in the ways of God and experienced in the affairs of men, I deemed it wrong to neglect my duty. I know what the heart of a mother is,[3] and when I think how very kind and gentle you in particular are towards all, I can

[1] Cf. ps.-Plut. *Mor.* 113 C (*Consol. ad Apollon.*), where the same figure of life as a journey is used.

[2] Accompanies Letter V.

[3] Basil was one of the ten children of Emmelia, who was a model of Christian womanhood. Cf. Introd. p. xiv.

εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν εἶναι τὴν ἀλγηδόνα. παῖδα ἐζημιώθης ὃν περιόντα μὲν ἐμακάρισαν πᾶσαι μητέρες, καὶ ηὔξαντο τοὺς ἑαυτῶν τοιούτους εἶναι, ἀποθανόντα δὲ ἐστέναξαν, ὡς ἑκάστη τὸν ἑαυτῆς γῇ κατακρύψασα. ἐκείνου ὁ θάνατος πληγὴ ἐγένετο πατρίδων δύο,[1] *τῆς τε ἡμετέρας καὶ τῆς* Κιλίκων. *ἐκείνῳ τὸ μέγα καὶ περιφανὲς γένος συγκατέπεσεν, ὥσπερ ἐρείσματος ὑφαιρεθέντος κατασεισθέν. ὢ συνάντημα πονηροῦ δαίμονος, πόσον ἴσχυσε κακὸν ἐξεργάσασθαι. ὢ γῆ, τοιοῦτον ἀναγκασθεῖσα ὑποδέξασθαι πάθος. ἔφριξε τάχα καὶ ὁ ἥλιος, εἴ τις αἴσθησις αὐτῷ, τὸ σκυθρωπὸν ἐκεῖνο θέαμα. καὶ τί ἄν τις τοσοῦτον εἴποι ὅσον ἡ ἀμηχανία τῆς ψυχῆς ὑποβάλλει;*

'Αλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἀπρονόητα τὰ ἡμέτερα, ὡς μεμαθήκαμεν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ὅτι οὐδὲ στρουθίον πίπτει ἄνευ θελήματος τοῦ Πατρὸς *ἡμῶν. ὥστε εἴ τι γέγονε, θελήματι γέγονε τοῦ κτίσαντος ἡμᾶς. τῷ δὲ βουλήματι τοῦ* Θεοῦ *τίς ἀνθέστηκε; καταδεξώμεθα τὸ συμβάν· δυσανασχετοῦντες γὰρ οὔτε τὸ γενόμενον διορθούμεθα, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς προσαπόλλυμεν. μὴ κατηγορήσωμεν τῆς δικαίας κρίσεως τοῦ* Θεοῦ. *ἀμαθεῖς ἐσμέν, ὥστε τὰ ἄρρητα αὐτοῦ κρίματα δοκιμάζειν. νῦν σου λαμβάνει τὴν δοκιμὴν ὁ* Κύριος *τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγάπης. νῦν σοι πάρεστι καιρὸς διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς τὴν μερίδα τῶν μαρτύρων λαβεῖν. ἡ τῶν*

[1] *δυοῖν* F.

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[1] *i.e.* Basil's and Nectarius' country. This supports the belief that the Nectarius mentioned in this and the previous

estimate how great must be your grief at the present moment. You have lost a son, a man whom in life all mothers accounted fortunate, praying that their own sons might be of like mould; and when he died, they mourned as if each had buried her own. His death has stricken two countries, our own and the Cilicians'.[1] With him a great and illustrious family has fallen, dashed to the ground, as it were by the removal of the prop. Oh, plague[2] of an evil demon, how great a calamity it has had the power to wreak! O earth, that has been compelled to submit to an affliction like this! Doubtless even the sun, if it had any power to feel, must have shuddered at that horrible sight. And what can anyone say commensurate with that which the soul in its utter despair prompts him to utter?

Yet nothing that befalls us is apart from the guidance of Providence, for we have learned from the Gospel that not even a sparrow falleth without the will of our Father.[3] Therefore whatever has come to pass, has come by the will of Him who made us. And the will of God, who has ever withstood it? Let us accept what has happened; for if we are rebellious, we not only do not right the past, but ruin ourselves besides. Let us not condemn the just decision of God. We are too ignorant to test His ineffable decisions. Now is the Lord making His test of your love for Him. Now is the opportunity at hand for you through patience to play the martyrs' rôle. The mother of the

letter was the future bishop of Constantinople, since the latter was from Tarsus in Cilicia.

[2] συνάντημα is used here as in the Septuagint. Cf. Ex. 9. 14; 1 Kings 8. 37; Eccl. 2. 14.

[3] Cf. Matt. 10. 29.

Μακκαβαίων μήτηρ ἑπτὰ παίδων εἶδε θάνατον καὶ οὐκ ἐστέναξεν, οὐδὲ ἀφῆκεν ἀγεννὲς δάκρυον, ἀλλ' εὐχαριστοῦσα τῷ Θεῷ ὅτι ἔβλεπεν αὐτοὺς πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ ταῖς χαλεπωτάταις αἰκίαις τῶν δεσμῶν τῆς σαρκὸς λυομένους, εὐδόκιμος μὲν παρὰ Θεῷ, ἀοίδιμος δὲ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἐκρίθη. μέγα τὸ πάθος, φημὶ κἀγώ· ἀλλὰ μεγάλοι καὶ οἱ παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου μισθοὶ τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν ἀποκείμενοι.

Ὅτε ἐγένου μήτηρ καὶ εἶδες τὸν παῖδα καὶ ηὐχαρίστησας τῷ Θεῷ, ᾔδεις πάντως ὅτι θνητὴ οὖσα θνητὸν ἐγέννησας. τί οὖν παράδοξον, εἰ ἀπέθανεν ὁ θνητός;[1] ἀλλὰ λυπεῖ ἡμᾶς τὸ παρὰ καιρόν. ἄδηλον εἰ μὴ εὔκαιρον τοῦτο, ἐπειδὴ ἡμεῖς ἐκλέγεσθαι τὰ συμφέροντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ ὁρίζειν προθεσμίας ἀνθρωπίνῃ ζωῇ[2] οὐκ ἐπιστάμεθα. περίβλεψαι τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα ἐν ᾧ κατοικεῖς καὶ ἐννόησον ὅτι πάντα θνητὰ τὰ ὁρώμενα καὶ πάντα φθορᾷ ὑποκείμενα. ἀνάβλεψον πρὸς[3] τὸν οὐρανόν· καὶ οὗτός ποτε λυθήσεται· πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον· οὐδὲ[4] οὗτος[5] διαμενεῖ. οἱ ἀστέρες σύμπαντες, ζῶα χερσαῖα καὶ ἔνυδρα, τὰ περὶ γῆν κάλλη, αὐτὴ ἡ γῆ, πάντα φθαρτά,[6] πάντα μικρὸν ὕστερον οὐκ ἐσόμενα. ἡ τούτων ἔννοια παραμυθία ἔστω τοῦ συμβεβηκότος. μὴ καθ' ἑαυτὸ μέτρει τὸ πάθος, ἀφόρητον γὰρ οὕτω φανεῖταί σοι· ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις πᾶσι συγκρίνουσα, ἐντεῦθεν εὑρήσεις αὐτοῦ τὴν παραμυθίαν. ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ἐκεῖνο

[1] τί οὖν . . . θνητός om. C, D.
[2] ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς E, F.
[3] πρὸς: εἰς F.
[4] οὔτε C, D.
[5] αὐτὸς A, B.
[6] καὶ add. E, F.

Maccabees[1] beheld the death of seven sons, and neither groaned nor shed an ignoble tear. Rather she gave thanks to God that she beheld her sons, albeit by fire and sword and by the most cruel tortures, set free from the bonds of the flesh; and thus she received commendation in the sight of God, and everlasting renown in the sight of men. Great is the suffering, I do admit; but great also are the rewards stored up by the Lord for those who patiently endure.

When you became a mother, and beheld your child, and rendered thanks to God, you knew for a certainty that you, a mortal woman, had given birth to mortal offspring. How then is it strange if this mortal has died? But it is the untimely loss that grieves us, you will say. Nay, it is not certain that his death is not timely, since we do not know how to select what is best for our souls, or how to define limits for the life of men. Look about you at the whole universe in which you live; and reflect that all the visible world is mortal and all things are subject to corruption. Look upward to the sky: this too will one day be dissolved; look at the sun: not even this will endure. The stars one and all, the living things of land and water, the beauties of the earth, the earth itself—all are doomed to perish, all in a little while will not be. Let the thought of these things be a consolation for what has befallen you. Do not measure your suffering by itself, for if you do, it will appear to you intolerable; if, however, you compare it with all things human, you will discover therein its consolation. But above all I have this to urge—that

[1] Cf. Macc. 7.

εἰπεῖν ἰσχυρὸν ἔχω, φεῖσαι τοῦ ὁμοζύγου· ἀλλήλοις γένεσθε[1] παραμυθία· μὴ ποιήσῃς αὐτῷ χαλεπωτέραν τὴν συμφορὰν τῷ πάθει ἑαυτὴν καταναλίσκουσα.[2] ὅλως δὲ οὐκ οἶμαι λόγον ἐξαρκεῖν εἰς παράκλησιν, ἀλλ' εὐχῆς ἡγοῦμαι χρείαν εἶναι πρὸς τὰ παρόντα. εὔχομαι οὖν αὐτὸν τὸν Κύριον, τῇ ἀφάτῳ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει ἐφαψάμενόν σου τῆς καρδίας, ἐμποιῆσαι φῶς τῇ ψυχῇ σου διὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν λογισμῶν, ἵν' οἴκοθεν ἔχῃς τῆς παραμυθίας τὰς ἀφορμάς.

VII

Γρηγορίῳ ἑταίρῳ[3]

Οὐδὲ *τότε*[4] *ἠγνόουν, ὅτε ἐπέστελλον τῇ λογιότητί σου, ὅτι πᾶσα θεολογικὴ φωνὴ ἐλάττων μέν ἐστι τῆς διανοίας τοῦ λέγοντος, ἐλάττων δὲ τῆς τοῦ ἐπιζητοῦντος ἐπιθυμίας, διότι ὁ λόγος ἀσθενέστερόν πως πέφυκε διακονεῖσθαι τοῖς νοουμένοις. εἰ οὖν ἀσθενὴς ἡμῶν ἡ διάνοια, ἐλάττων δὲ ταύτης ἡ γλῶσσα, τί ἐχρῆν προσδοκᾷν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, καὶ οὐχὶ πενίαν ἐγκληθήσεσθαι λόγων; οὐ μὴν τούτου γε ἕνεκεν δυνατὸν ἦν σιωπῇ παρελθεῖν τὸ ἐπιζητούμενον.*[5] *κίνδυνος γὰρ προδοσίας ἐν τῷ μὴ προχείρως*

[1] *ἐσθὲ* A, B, C, D. [2] *ἀναλίσκουσα* A, B, C, D.

[3] *Γρηγορίῳ ἐπισκοπῷ ἑταίρῳ ὅτι οὐχ ἱκανὸς ὁ λόγος πρὸς παράστασιν τῆς νοουμένης εὐσεβείας καὶ ἵνα συνηγορῇ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ. γρ. Εὐαγρίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ* E. *τῷ αὐτῷ ὅτι οὐχ ἱκανὸς ὁ λόγος πρὸς παράστασιν τῆς νοουμένης εὐσεβείας* A, B. *τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν μέγαν Γρηγόριον ὅτι οὐχ ἱκανὸς ὁ λόγος πρὸς παράστασιν τῆς νοουμένης εὐσεβείας ἵνα καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ συνηγορῇ* C, D. *Γρηγορίῳ βασίλειος* F.

you spare your partner in life; be a consolation one to the other; do not make the misfortune harder for him to bear by spending yourself upon your grief. I am by no means of the opinion that words suffice to give comfort; but I believe that there is need of prayer also to meet this affliction. Therefore I do pray the Lord Himself so to touch your heart with His ineffable power as to enkindle light in your soul by the exercise of good counsels, that you may have within yourself the sources of your consolation.

LETTER VII

To Gregory, my comrade [1]

Even when I wrote to your learned self, I was not unaware that every theological expression is inferior to the thought of the speaker, and inferior to the desire of the questioner; because speech, I presume, is naturally too weak a thing to serve perfectly the conceptions of our minds.[2] Thus if our thought is weak, and our tongue is inferior to our thought, what else should we have expected as a consequence of our pronouncements than that we should be criticized for poverty of words? However, I could not pass over your question in silence for this reason. For there is danger of treason, if one is not quick to answer the questions

[1] Appears to have been written in his retirement at Pontus.
[2] Cf. the homily (εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ γέννησιν), "On the holy birth of Christ," where this statement is made more elaborately.

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[4] οὐδέποτε E. [5] ζητούμενον A, B, C, D.

ἀποδιδόναι τὰς περὶ Θεοῦ ἀποκρίσεις τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι τὸν Κύριον. ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὖν, εἴτε ἀρκούντως ἔχειν δοκεῖ, εἴτε καὶ[1] *ἀκριβεστέρας τινὸς προσθήκης δεῖται, καιροῦ ἰδίου πρὸς διόρθωσιν χρῄζει.*

Τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔχον παρακαλοῦμέν σε, ὃ[2] *καὶ παρεκαλέσαμεν ἤδη, χρῆσαι σεαυτὸν ὁλοκλήρως τῇ συνηγορίᾳ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ*[3] *ταῖς παρὰ τοῦ*[4] *Θεοῦ ἐγγινομέναις τῇ διανοίᾳ σου ὁρμαῖς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ σύστασιν, ταύταις ἀρκούμενον καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν μηδὲν ἐπιζητοῦντα πλέον· οἳ πολλῷ ἐλάττους ὄντες τῆς ὑπονοίας βλάπτομεν μᾶλλον τῇ παρ' ἑαυτῶν ἀσθενείᾳ τὸν λόγον*[5] *ἤ τινα ἰσχὺν διὰ τῆς συνηγορίας τῇ ἀληθείᾳ προστίθεμεν.*

VIII

Τοῖς Καισαρεῦσιν ἀπολογία περὶ τῆς ἀποχωρήσεως, καὶ περὶ πίστεως[6]

Πολλάκις ἐθαύμασα τί ποτε πρὸς ἡμᾶς πεπόνθατε καὶ πόθεν τοσοῦτον ἡττᾶσθε[7] *τῆς*

[1] *καὶ* om. C, D. [2] *ὃ* om. A, B. [3] *καὶ* om. A, B.
[4] *τοῦ* om. A, B, F. [5] *τῶν λόγων* C, D.
[6] *καὶ περὶ πίστεως* om. F. [7] *ἥττησθε* F.

[1] Written in the year 380, when Basil, troubled by the news that Dianius, the bishop who had baptized him, was a subscriber to the Arian creed of Ariminum as revised at Nica (at or near modern Hafsa, just to the south of Adrianople; cf. Theod., *Hist. Eccl.* 2, 16), had left Caesarea and taken refuge with Gregory at Nazianzus. This letter is clearly not addressed to the citizens of Caesarea, but rather to the monks of the Coenobium over which Basil had presided; cf. the Benedictine note.

about God which those ask who love the Lord. My previous discussion, then, whether it is regarded as adequate or whether it needs a supplement to make it more accurate, calls for a special opportunity for revision.

For the present, however, we urge you, as we have urged you before, to devote yourself entirely to the advocacy of the truth, and to those impulses which are implanted by God in your mind for the establishment of the good; and we beg you to rest content with these and ask nothing more of us; for by falling far short of our theme we do more harm to the reasoning by our own weakness than we add strength to the truth by our advocacy.

LETTER VIII

An Apology to the Caesareans for his Withdrawal, and a Treatise on Faith [1]

I have often wondered what feelings you have conceived towards us, and for what reason you show

[1] From the point of view of the Trinity, the chief work of the Cappadocians, and especially Basil, consisted in bringing back to the Church the group of the Semi-Arians, and determining once for all the orthodox Greek terminology. Cf. Introd., p. xxiii.—The present letter, and especially Letter XXXVIII, accomplished much in this way.

The more important terms as defined by Basil are:

ἀνόμοιος, *dissimilis*, unlike.
οὐσία, *substantia* (although the Latin rendering is etymologically the same as ὑπόστασις), substance.
ὁμοούσιος, *consubstantialis*, consubstantial.
ὁμοιούσιος, *similis quoad substantiam*, of similar substance.
ὅμοιος, *similis*, like.
ὑπόστασις, *persona*, person.

ἡμετέρας βραχύτητος, τῆς μικρᾶς καὶ ὀλίγης καὶ οὐδὲν ἴσως ἐχούσης ἐράσμιον, καὶ λόγοις ἡμᾶς προτρέπεσθε φιλίας τε καὶ πατρίδος ὑπομιμνήσκοντες, ὥσπερ φυγάδας τινὰς πατρικοῖς σπλάγχνοις πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς πάλιν ἐπιστρέφειν πειρώμενοι. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ μὲν φυγὰς γεγονέναι ὁμολογῶ, καὶ οὐκ[1] ἀρνηθείην· τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν μάθοιτ' ἂν ἤδη ποθοῦντες.

Μάλιστα μὲν τῷ ἀδοκήτῳ τότε πληγείς, καθάπερ οἱ τοῖς αἰφνιδίοις ψόφοις ἀθρόως καταπλαγέντες, οὐ κατέσχον τοὺς λογισμούς, ἀλλ' ἐμάκρυνα φυγαδεύων, καὶ ηὐλίσθην χρόνον ἱκανὸν ἀφ' ὑμῶν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ πόθος τις ὑπεισῄει μου[2] τῶν θείων δογμάτων καὶ τῆς περὶ ἐκεῖνα φιλοσοφίας. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν δυναίμην, ἔφην ἐγώ, κρατῆσαι τῆς συνοικούσης ἡμῖν κακίας; τίς δ' ἄν μοι γένηται[3] Λάβαν, ἀπαλλάττων με τοῦ Ἡσαῦ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀνωτάτω φιλοσοφίαν παιδαγωγῶν; ἀλλ' ἐπειδή, σὺν Θεῷ, τοῦ σκοποῦ κατὰ δύναμιν τετυχήκαμεν εὑρόντες σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς καὶ φρέαρ βαθύ, λέγω δὲ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ στόμα Γρηγόριον, ὀλίγον ἡμῖν, παρακαλῶ, ὀλίγον συγχωρήσατε χρόνον. αἰτούμεθα, οὐ τὴν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι διατριβὴν ἀσπαζόμενοι· οὐδὲ γὰρ λέληθεν ἡμᾶς ὁ πονηρὸς διὰ τῶν τοιούτων τὴν ἀπάτην

[1] ἂν add. F. [2] με F. [3] γένοιτο F.

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[1] Basil here calls Caesarea πατρίς; but this term may be applied to either the land of his birth or the place of his bringing up. Cf. Introd., p. xiii.

[2] Cf. Acts 9, 15: "And the Lord said to him: Go thy way; for this man is to me a vessel of election, to carry

such deference to our inferiority—paltry and insignificant as we are, and possessing, I suppose, no lovable quality—that you address us with words of exhortation, recalling our friendship and fatherland,[1] as though you were endeavouring to induce, by an appeal to love of country, a runaway person to return to his home. That I have become a runaway I acknowledge, nor would I deny it; but the reason for this you may now learn, since you so desire.

In the first place, and chiefly, I was so confounded at the time by the unexpected event, as men are utterly and in a moment confounded by a sudden noise, that I could not control my reason, but, taking flight, removed myself to a distance, and I have sojourned a considerable time away from you; in the second place, a longing stole into my heart for the doctrine of God, and for the philosophy pertaining thereto. For how, I asked myself, could I overcome the evil that dwelt within me? Who would be a Laban to me, and free me from Esau, and lead me to the highest philosophy? But inasmuch as we have, with God's help, attained our goal as well as might be, having found a vessel of election[2] and a deep well-spring—I mean Gregory, the mouthpiece of Christ—grant us, I beg, a brief space of time. We ask this not because we are fond of life in the cities[3]—for we are very well aware that the Evil One devises deceit

my name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel."

[3] The city in which Basil is now staying is probably Nazianzus, the home of his friend Gregory; or more exactly the suburb Carbala or Caprales (modern Gelvere), where Gregory's estate was situated.

τοῖς ἀνθρώποις προσμηχανώμενος· ἀλλὰ τὴν συντυχίαν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους ἐπωφελῆ μάλιστα κρίνοντες. ἐν γὰρ τῷ λέγειν τι περὶ τῶν θείων δογμάτων καὶ ἀκούειν πυκνότερον, ἕξιν δυσαπόβλητον θεωρημάτων λαμβάνομεν. καὶ τὰ μὲν καθ' ἡμᾶς τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον.

Ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ θεῖαί μοι καὶ προσφιλέσταται πασῶν κεφαλαί, φυλάττεσθε τοὺς τῶν Φυλιστιαίων ποιμένας, μή τις λαθὼν ἐμφράξῃ ὑμῶν τὰ φρέατα καὶ τὸ καθαρὸν τῆς γνώσεως τῆς περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἐπιθολώσῃ. τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀεί ἐστιν ἐπιμελές, μὴ ἐκ τῶν θείων Γραφῶν διδάσκειν τὰς ἀκεραιοτέρας ψυχάς, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἔξωθεν σοφίας παρακρούεσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν. ὁ γὰρ ἀγέννητον καὶ γεννητὸν ἐπεισάγων ἡμῶν τῇ πίστει, καὶ τὸν ἀεὶ ὄντα μὴ ὄντα ποτὲ δογματίζων, καὶ τὸν φύσει καὶ ἀεὶ Πατέρα πατέρα γινόμενον, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον οὐκ ἀΐδιον, οὐκ ἀντικρύς ἐστι Φυλιστεύς[1]*; βασκαίνων τοῖς τοῦ πατριάρχου ἡμῶν προβάτοις, ἵνα μὴ πίνωσιν ἐκ τοῦ καθαροῦ καὶ ἁλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον ὕδατος, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ προφήτου λόγιον πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπισπάσωνται, τό Ἐμὲ ἐγκατέλιπον πηγὴν ὕδατος ζῶντος καὶ ὤρυξαν ἑαυτοῖς λάκκους συντετριμμένους οἳ οὐ δυνήσονται ὕδωρ συσχεῖν, δέον ὁμολογεῖν Θεὸν τὸν Πατέρα, Θεὸν τὸν Υἱόν, Θεὸν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὡς οἱ θεῖοι λόγοι καὶ οἱ τούτους ὑψηλότερον νενοηκότες ἐδίδαξαν.*

[1] *φυλιστιαῖος* F.

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[1] The Arian formula is *ἦ ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν*, "There was a time when he was not."

for men by such means—but because we consider the society of holy men most helpful. For by speaking now and then about the doctrine of God, and more frequently by listening, we are acquiring a habit of reflection that will not easily be lost again. Such is our present situation.

But do you, O dear ones divine and best beloved of all, beware of the shepherds of the Philistines, lest they secretly obstruct your wells and pollute the purity of the knowledge of faith. For their aim is ever this, not to instruct the more stainless souls through the teachings of the divine Scriptures, but through extraneous wisdom to thrust the truth to one side. For he who introduces "unbegotten" and "begotten" into our faith, and declares that He who always was, at one time was not,[1] and that He who naturally and always was Father became Father, and that the Holy Spirit is not eternal, is he not an out-and-out Philistine? Does he not strive to bewitch the sheep of our patriarch, that they may not drink of the water which is pure and which leaps into everlasting life,[2] but that they may draw down upon themselves the words of the prophet,[3] who says: "They have forsaken me, the fountain of living water, and have digged to themselves cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water"? Yet they ought to confess that the Father is God, that the Son is God, and that the Holy Ghost is God, as the divine words and those who have had the highest conception of them have taught us.

[2] "But the water that I will give him shall become in him a fountain of water, springing up into life everlasting." John 4, 14. [3] Jer. 2, 13.

Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπηρεάζοντας ἡμῖν τὸ τρίθεον, ἐκεῖνο λεγέσθω, ὅτιπερ ἡμεῖς ἕνα Θεόν, οὐ τῷ ἀριθμῷ, ἀλλὰ τῇ φύσει ὁμολογοῦμεν. πᾶν γὰρ ὃ ἓν ἀριθμῷ λέγεται, τοῦτο οὐχ ἓν ὄντως οὐδ' ἁπλοῦν τῇ φύσει ἐστίν· ὁ δὲ Θεὸς ἁπλοῦς καὶ ἀσύνθετος παρὰ πᾶσιν ὁμολογεῖται. οὐκ ἄρα εἷς ἀριθμῷ ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός. ὃ δὲ λέγω τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν. ἓν ἀριθμῷ τὸν κόσμον εἶναί φαμεν, ἀλλ'[1] οὐχ ἕνα τῇ φύσει, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἁπλοῦν τινὰ τοῦτον· τέμνομεν γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκε στοιχεῖα, εἰς πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀέρα καὶ γῆν. πάλιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἷς ἀριθμῷ ὀνομάζεται· ἕνα γὰρ ἄνθρωπον πολλάκις λέγομεν.[2] ἀλλ' οὐχ ἁπλοῦς τις οὗτός ἐστιν, ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς συνεστώς. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἄγγελον ἕνα ἀριθμῷ ἐροῦμεν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἕνα τῇ φύσει οὐδὲ ἁπλοῦν· οὐσίαν γὰρ μεθ'[3] ἁγιασμοῦ τὴν τοῦ ἀγγέλου ὑπόστασιν ἐννοοῦμεν. εἰ τοίνυν πᾶν τὸ ἓν ἀριθμῷ ἓν τῇ φύσει οὔκ ἐστι, καὶ τὸ ἓν τῇ φύσει καὶ ἁπλοῦν ἓν ἀριθμῷ οὔκ ἐστιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ λέγομεν ἕνα τῇ φύσει Θεόν, πῶς ἐπεισάγουσιν ἡμῖν τὸν ἀριθμόν, αὐτὸν πάντη ἡμῶν ἐξοριζόντων τῆς μακαρίας ἐκείνης καὶ νοητῆς φύσεως; ὁ γὰρ ἀριθμός ἐστι τοῦ ποσοῦ, τὸ δὲ ποσὸν τῇ σωματικῇ φύσει συνέζευκται· ὁ γὰρ ἀριθμὸς τῆς σωματικῆς φύσεως. σωμάτων δὲ δημιουργὸν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν εἶναι πεπιστεύκαμεν. διὸ καὶ πᾶς ἀριθμὸς ἐκεῖνα σημαίνει τὰ ἔνυλον καὶ περιγραπτὴν ἔχειν λαχόντα τὴν φύσιν, ἡ δὲ μονὰς καὶ ἑνὰς τῆς ἁπλῆς καὶ ἀπεριλήπτου οὐσίας ἐστὶ σημαντική. ὁ τοίνυν ἀριθμὸν ἢ κτίσμα ὁμολογῶν

[1] ἀλλ' om. F. [2] λέγομεν (ο fr. ω) F. [3] μετὰ F.

LETTER VIII

In reply to those who slander us as being Tritheists, let it be said that we confess one God, not in number but in nature. For not everything that is called one in number is one in reality nor simple in its nature; but God is universally admitted to be simple and uncompounded. Yet God is not therefore one in number. What I mean is this. We say that the universe is one in number, but not that it is one in nature, nor yet that it is simple; for we divide it into the elements of which it is composed: fire, water, air, and earth.[1] Again, man is called one in number; for we often speak of one man. But he is not simple, since he is composed of body and soul. Similarly we speak of an angel as one in number, but not as one in nature, nor yet as simple; for we conceive of the person of the angel as being substance along with sanctity. If then not everything which is one in number is one in nature, and what is one in nature and simple is not one in number, and we say that God is one in nature, how do they introduce number into our idea, when we banish it altogether from that blessed and spiritual nature? For number pertains to quantity; now quantity is joined as an attribute to corporeal nature; therefore, number is an attribute of corporeal nature. We believe that our Lord is the maker of bodies. Therefore every number signifies those things which have been given a material and circumscribed nature, whereas 'aloneness' and 'unity' are attributes of a substance that is simple and unlimited. He, then, who confesses the Son

[1] For the elements of the Greek philosophers, cf. Arist. *Met.* 1, 3.

τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἢ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, λανθάνει ἔνυλον καὶ περιγραπτὴν φύσιν εἰσάγων. περιγραπτὴν δὲ λέγω, οὐ μόνον τὴν περιεχομένην ὑπὸ τόπου, ἀλλ' ἥνπερ καὶ τῇ προγνώσει ἐμπεριείληφεν ὁ μέλλων αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι παράγειν, ἣν[1] καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ περιλαβεῖν δυνατόν ἐστι. πᾶν οὖν ἅγιον, ὃ περιγραπτὴν ἔχει τὴν φύσιν καὶ ἐπίκτητον ἔχει τὴν ἁγιότητα, οὐκ ἀνεπίδεκτόν ἐστι κακίας. ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον πηγή ἐστιν ἁγιασμοῦ, ὑφ' ἧς πᾶσα ἡ λογικὴ κτίσις κατ' ἀναλογίαν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἁγιάζεται.

Καίτοι ἡμεῖς κατὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον οὔτε ὅμοιον οὔτε ἀνόμοιον λέγομεν τὸν Υἱὸν τῷ Πατρί. ἑκάτερον γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐπίσης ἀδύνατον. ὅμοιον γὰρ καὶ ἀνόμοιον κατὰ τὰς ποιότητας λέγεται· ποιότητος δὲ τὸ θεῖον ἐλεύθερον. ταὐτότητα δὲ τῆς φύσεως ὁμολογοῦντες καὶ τὸ ὁμοούσιον ἐκδεχόμεθα καὶ τὸ σύνθετον φεύγομεν, τοῦ κατ' οὐσίαν Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς τὸν κατ' οὐσίαν Θεὸν καὶ Υἱὸν γεγεννηκότος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτου τὸ ὁμοούσιον δείκνυται. ὁ γὰρ κατ' οὐσίαν Θεὸς τῷ κατ' οὐσίαν Θεῷ ὁμοούσιός ἐστιν.

Ἐπεὶ[2] δὲ λέγεται θεὸς καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὡς τὸ Ἐγὼ εἶπα, θεοί ἐστε, καὶ ὁ δαίμων θεός, ὡς τὸ

[1] ὃ F. [2] ἐπειδὴ F.

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[1] So declared at Seleucia and Ariminum.

[2] Cf. the essay "On the Holy Spirit" (περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος), where Basil deals at length with the heretic Aetius's sophism that things naturally unlike are expressed in unlike terms, and, conversely, that things expressed in unlike terms are naturally unlike.

[3] By reason of the simplicity of His nature, God's attributes and His nature are one and the same. The attributes

of God or the Holy Spirit as number or creature, unwittingly introduces a material and circumscribed nature. By "circumscribed" I mean not merely the nature which is enclosed by space, but that which has also been comprehended in foreknowledge by Him who is to bring it from a state of non-being into a state of being; and this is a nature that can be comprehended by knowledge. Therefore everything holy, which has a circumscribed nature and whose holiness has been acquired, is not insusceptible of evil. But the Son and the Holy Ghost are the fountains of holiness; and by it every reasoning creature is made holy in proportion to its virtue.

And yet we, in accordance with the true doctrine, speak of the Son as neither like [1] nor unlike [2] to the Father. Each of these terms is equally impossible. For the words "like" and "unlike" are used with reference to qualities; but the divine is free from quality.[3] However, in agreeing on identity of nature, we accept likewise the identity of substance, refusing to accept compositeness, since He who in substance was God and Father has begotten Him who in substance was God and Son; for thereby the identity in substance is proved. For He who is in substance God must have identity of substance with Him who in substance is God.

But when even man is called God, as in the saying: "I have said: You are gods," [4] and when the demon is called god, as in the saying: "The

of God are not really, but only virtually, distinct from one another and from His nature.

[4] "I have said: You are gods, and all of you the sons of the most High." Psal. 81, 6.

Οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν δαιμόνια, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν κατὰ χάριν ὀνομάζονται, οἱ δὲ κατὰ ψεῦδος. ὁ δὲ Θεὸς μόνος κατ' οὐσίαν ἐστὶ Θεός. μόνος δὲ ὅταν εἴπω, τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ἄκτιστον δηλῶ, τὸ γὰρ μόνος λέγεται καὶ ἐπί τινος ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἐπὶ φύσεως ἁπλῶς τῆς καθόλου· ἐπί τινος μέν, οἷον, φέρε εἰπεῖν, ἐπὶ Παύλου, ὅτι μόνος ἡρπάγη ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἤκουσεν ἄρρητα ῥήματα ἃ οὐκ ἐξὸν ἀνθρώπῳ λαλῆσαι· ἐπὶ φύσεως δὲ τῆς καθόλου, ὡς ὅταν λέγῃ Δαβίδ, Ἄνθρωπος, ὡσεὶ χόρτος αἱ ἡμέραι αὐτοῦ. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὐ τόν τινα ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ τὴν καθόλου φύσιν δηλοῖ· πᾶς γὰρ ἄνθρωπος πρόσκαιρος καὶ θνητός. οὕτω κἀκεῖνα νοοῦμεν ἐπὶ τῆς φύσεως εἰρημένα· τὸ Ὁ μόνος ἔχων ἀθανασίαν, καί, Μόνῳ σοφῷ Θεῷ, καὶ τὸ Οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ Θεός (τὸ γὰρ εἷς ἐνταῦθα τῷ μόνος ταὐτὸν δηλοῖ), καὶ τὸ Ὁ τανύσας τὸν οὐρανὸν μόνος, καὶ πάλιν, Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ σου προσκυνήσεις καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις, καὶ τὸ Οὐκ ἔστι Θεὸς πλὴν ἐμοῦ. τὸ γὰρ εἷς καὶ μόνος ἐπὶ Θεοῦ ἐν τῇ Γραφῇ οὐ πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἢ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος λέγεται, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς μὴ ὄντας θεούς, ὀνο-

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[1] "For all the gods of the Gentiles are devils: but the Lord made the heavens." Psal. 95, 5.

[2] Cf. 2 Cor. 12, 4: ὅτι ἡρπάγη εἰς τὸν παράδεισον, καὶ ἤκουσεν ἄρρητα ῥήματα ἃ οὐκ ἐξὸν ἀνθρώπῳ λαλῆσαι. "That he was caught up into paradise, and heard secret words, which it is not granted to man to utter." The first part of Basil's quotation differs markedly from our version of the N.T. He adds μόνος, and substitutes ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ for εἰς τὸν παράδεισον.

[3] *i.e.*, by metonymy.

gods of the Gentiles are devils,"[1] yet the former are so termed in compliment and the latter falsely. But God alone is God in substance. And when I say "alone," I must make it clear that the substance of God is holy and uncreated; for the attribute "alone" is sometimes applied to a particular man, at other times to the nature which all men share. It is applied to a particular man, when, let us say for example, it is said of Paul "that he alone was caught up into the third heaven, and heard secret words which it is not granted to man to utter."[2] It is applied, however, to human nature,[3] as when David[4] says, "Man, his days are as grass"; for here it refers, not to any particular man, but to the nature which is shared by all men. Indeed, every man is ephemeral and mortal. In like manner, we understand the following words to have been referred to the Divine Nature, "Who alone hath immortality,"[5] and, "To the alone wise God,"[6] and, "None is good, except one, God"[7] (for here the word "one" means the same as the word "alone"), and, "Who alone spreadeth out the heavens,"[8] and again, "Thou shalt adore the Lord, thy God, and Him alone shalt thou serve,"[9] and, "There is no other God besides Me."[10] In fact, "one" and "alone" are applied to God in the Scriptures, not to distinguish Him from the Son or from the Holy Ghost, but to contrast Him with those who are not gods, but are falsely so

[4] "He remembereth that we are dust: man's days are as grass; as the flower of the field, so shall he flourish." Psal. 102, 15.

[5] 1 Tim. 6, 16. [6] Rom. 16, 27. [7] Luke 18, 19.
[8] Job 9, 13. [9] Deut. 6, 1. [10] Deut. 32, 39.

μαζομένους δὲ ψευδῶς· ὡς τὸ Κύριος μόνος ἦγεν αὐτούς, καὶ οὐκ ἦν μετ' αὐτῶν θεὸς ἀλλότριος, καὶ τὸ Περιεῖλον υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ τὰ Βααλεὶμ καὶ τὰ ἄλση Ἀσταρὼθ καὶ ἐδούλευον Κυρίῳ μόνῳ, καὶ πάλιν ὁ Παῦλος, Ὥσπερ εἰσὶ θεοὶ πολλοὶ καὶ κύριοι πολλοί, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν εἷς Θεός, ὁ Πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ εἷς Κύριος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα.

Ἀλλὰ ζητοῦμεν ἐνταῦθα πῶς Εἷς Θεὸς εἰρηκὼς οὐκ ἠρκέσθη τῇ φωνῇ (ἔφαμεν γὰρ ὅτι μόνος καὶ τὸ εἷς, ἐπὶ Θεοῦ, τὴν φύσιν δηλοῖ), ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Πατὴρ προσέθηκε καὶ τοῦ[1] *Χριστοῦ ἐμνημόνευσεν. ὑπονοῶ τοίνυν ὅτι οὐκ ἐξαρκεῖν ᾠήθη νῦν ὁ Παῦλος, τὸ σκεῦος τῆς ἐκλογῆς, κηρύσσειν μόνον Θεὸν τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ Θεὸν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὅπερ διὰ τῆς Εἷς Θεὸς ἐδήλωσε ῥήσεως, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ διὰ τῆς προσθήκης τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸν ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα δηλώσῃ, καὶ διὰ τῆς μνήμης τοῦ Κυρίου τὸν Λόγον τὸν δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα σημάνῃ· καὶ πάλιν, διὰ τῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ συμπαραλήψεως, τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν παραγγείλῃ*[2] *καὶ τὸ πάθος παραστήσῃ καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν φανερώσῃ. τὸ γὰρ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ἐννοίας ἡμῖν ἐμφαίνει. διὸ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πάθους παραιτεῖται ὁ Κύριος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καταγγέλλεσθαι, καὶ διαστέλλεται τοῖς*

[1] τοῦ om. F. [2] ἀπαγγείλῃ F.

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[1] Deut. 32, 12. [2] 1 Kings 7, 4.

[3] Cf. 1 Cor. 8, 5–6: *ὥσπερ εἰσὶ θεοὶ πολλοί, καὶ κύριοι πολλοί· ἀλλ' ἡμῖν εἷς θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν· καὶ εἷς Κύριος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ.* "For there be gods many, and lords many: yet to us there is but one God, the Father,

called; for example, "The Lord alone was their leader: and there was no strange god with them";[1] and, "Then the children of Israel put away Baalim and the groves of Astaroth, and served the Lord alone";[2] and again the words of Paul[3]: "Just as there be gods many, and lords many, yet to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, by whom are all things."[4]

But here we may ask why, after having said "one God," Paul was not content with the saying (for we have said that "only" and "one," when applied to God, indicate the nature), but went on and added "Father" and mentioned Christ. Well, then, I suspect that Paul, the vessel of election, did not consider it enough in this passage to proclaim only God the Son and God the Holy Spirit, the thought which he has made manifest through the expression "one God," without at the same time, by the addition of "the Father," making manifest Him from whom all things are, and, by making mention of "the Lord," indicating the Word by whom are all things; and again, by including "Jesus Christ," proclaiming the Incarnation, setting forth the passion, and making manifest the resurrection. For the words "Jesus Christ" bring before our minds all these ideas. For this reason too, before His passion, the Lord asked not to be proclaimed as Jesus Christ; and "He commanded

of whom are all things, *and we unto him*; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, *and we by him*." Note Basil's accurate quotation, with apparently purposeful omission of irrelevant material.

[4] In this passage Basil has been defending his contention that 'one' cannot be predicated of God.

μαθηταῖς, ἵνα μηδενὶ εἴπωσιν, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός. πρόκειται γὰρ αὐτῷ τελειώσαντι τὴν οἰκονομίαν, μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν καὶ τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν, ἐπιτρέψαι αὐτοῖς κηρύσσειν αὐτὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστόν. τοιοῦτόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ Ἵνα γινώσκωσί σε τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεόν, καὶ ὃν ἀπέστειλας Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, καὶ τὸ Πιστεύετε εἰς [1] *Θεὸν καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ πιστεύετε· πανταχοῦ τὴν ἔννοιαν ἡμῶν ἀσφαλιζομένου τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, ἵνα μὴ θατέρῳ προσβαίνοντες θατέρου ἐκπίπτωμεν, καὶ τῇ θεολογίᾳ προσέχοντες τῆς οἰκονομίας καταφρονῶμεν, καὶ γένηται ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸ ἐλλεῖπον ἡ ἀσέβεια.*

Τὰ δὲ ῥήματα τῆς θείας Γραφῆς, ἅπερ λαμβάνοντες οἱ ἀντικείμενοι καὶ διαστρέφοντες πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν συνείδησιν εἰς καθαίρεσιν τῆς δόξης τοῦ Μονογενοῦς ἡμῖν προφέρουσιν, οὕτως ἐξετάσωμεν, κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἡμῖν ἀναπτύσσοντες αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν. καὶ πρῶτον ἡμῖν προτιθέσθω [2] *τὸ Ἐγὼ ζῶ διὰ τὸν Πατέρα· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ἓν τῶν βελῶν τῶν εἰς οὐρανὸν πεμπομένων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσεβῶς αὐτῷ κεχρημένων. ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὸ ῥητὸν οὐ τὴν προαιώνιον, ὡς οἶμαι, ζωὴν ὀνομάζει*

τὸν add. F. [2] *προτιθείσθω* F.

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[1] Matt. 16, 20. [2] John 17, 3. [3] John 14, 1.

[4] *οἰκονομία*, "the divine dispensation," relates to the Incarnation and consequent redemption of mankind, as distinguished from *θεολογία*, "theology," which is concerned with all that relates to the divine and eternal nature of Christ.

His disciples, that they should tell no one that He was Jesus the Christ."[1] For it was His intention, only after He had finished His mission, after the resurrection from the dead, and the assumption into heaven, to permit them to proclaim Him Jesus the Christ. Such is the meaning of the words: "That they may know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou has sent,"[2] and of these: "You believe in God; believe also in me."[3] Thus the Holy Spirit everywhere safeguards our understanding, lest in approaching the one idea we fall away from another; lest by attending to theology we think too little of the divine dispensation;[4] and lest through our deficiency impiety be engendered within us.

The words of the divine Scriptures which our opponents seize, twist to suit their own peculiar persuasion, and offer to us for the destruction of the glory of the Only-begotten, let us now examine, unfolding their meaning to the best of our ability. And first let us consider the statement, "I live by the Father;"[5] for this is one of the missiles hurled against heaven by those who have made impious use of it. These words, in my opinion, do not refer to his life in eternity[6] (for everything

[5] John 6, 58: "by the Father." "The preposition (Vulg. *propter patrem*) describes the ground or object, not the instrument or agent (by, through, διὰ τοῦ πατρός). Complete devotion to the Father is the essence of the life of the Son, and so complete devotion to the Son is the life of the believer. It seems better to give this full sense to the word than to take it as equivalent to 'by reason of': that is, 'I live because the Father lives'" (Westcott, *St. John, ad loc.*).

[6] *i.e.* before the creation of the world.

(πᾶν γὰρ τὸ δι' ἕτερον ζῶν αὐτοζωὴ[1] εἶναι οὐ δύναται, ὡς οὐδὲ τὸ ὑφ' ἑτέρου θερμανθὲν αὐτοθερμότης εἶναι, ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς[2] καὶ Θεὸς[3] ἡμῶν εἴρηκεν, Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ζωή), ἀλλὰ ζωὴν ταύτην τὴν ἐν σαρκὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ γεγενημένην, ἣν ἔζησε διὰ τὸν Πατέρα. βουλήσει γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐπιδεδήμηκε τῷ βίῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ ἔζησα διὰ τὸν Πατέρα, ἀλλ', Ἐγὼ ζῶ διὰ τὸν Πατέρα, σαφῶς τὸν παρόντα προσημαίνων[4] χρόνον. δύναται δὲ καὶ ζωὴν λέγειν ἣν ζῇ ὁ Χριστός, τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ. καὶ ὅτι τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ δηλούμενον, ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιφερομένου εἰσόμεθα. Καὶ ὁ τρώγων με, φησί, ζήσεται δι' ἐμέ· τρώγομεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνομεν αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα, κοινωνοὶ γινόμενοι, διὰ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως καὶ τῆς αἰσθητῆς ζωῆς, τοῦ Λόγου καὶ τῆς σοφίας. σάρκα γὰρ καὶ αἷμα πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν μυστικὴν ἐπιδημίαν ὠνόμασε, καὶ τὴν ἐκ πρακτικῆς καὶ φυσικῆς καὶ θεολογικῆς συνεστῶσαν διδασκαλίαν ἐδήλωσε, δι' ἧς τρέφεται[5] ψυχὴ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὄντων τέως θεωρίαν παρασκευάζεται. καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ῥητοῦ ἴσως δηλούμενον.

Καὶ πάλιν, Ὁ Πατήρ μου μείζων μου ἐστί· κέχρηται γὰρ καὶ τούτῳ τῷ ῥητῷ τὰ ἀχάριστα κτίσματα, τὰ τοῦ πονηροῦ γεννήματα. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ

[1] αὐτοζῶν F. [2] Κύριος F. [3] καὶ Θεὸς om. F. [4] προσσημαίνων F. [5] τε add. F.

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[1] Cf. John 11, 25: "Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ ζωή." "I am the resurrection and the life."

which has life by or through something else cannot be self-existent, just as that which is heated by something else cannot be self-heating; and our Christ and God has said: "I am the life"[1]), but to that life which He has had in the flesh and in time here upon earth, which He lived by or through the Father. For it was of His own will that He came to sojourn among men as one of them; and He did not say, "I have lived by the Father," but "I live by the Father," referring clearly to the present time. And He can use the word "life" of the life which the Christ is living, since He has the word of God within Himself. And that this is what He means we shall perceive from the following: "And he that eateth Me," He says,[2] "the same also shall live by Me"; for we eat of His flesh, and drink of His blood, becoming partakers of His Word and Wisdom through His Incarnation and visible life. For by "flesh and blood" He referred to His entire mystic sojourn, and revealed the doctrine, composed of the real,[3] the natural, and the theological, whereby the soul is nourished and prepared betimes for its ultimate contemplation of realities. This is what He probably means by those words.

Consider, again, this saying: "The Father is greater than I";[4] for those thankless creatures, the offspring of the Evil One, have made use even of this expression. I am convinced, however, that

[2] Cf. John 6, 58.

[3] πρακτικός probably means "real" as opposed to "speculative" or "logical." Basil uses πρᾶγμα frequently for "reality."

[4] John 14, 28.

ἐκ ταύτης τῆς φωνῆς τὸ ὁμοούσιον εἶναι τὸν Υἱὸν τῷ Πατρὶ δηλοῦσθαι πεπίστευκα. τὰς γὰρ συγκρίσεις οἶδα κυρίως ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως γινομένας. ἄγγελον γὰρ ἀγγέλου λέγομεν μείζονα, καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἀνθρώπου δικαιότερον, καὶ πτηνὸν πτηνοῦ ταχύτερον. εἰ τοίνυν αἱ συγκρίσεις ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοειδῶν γίνονται, μείζων δὲ κατὰ σύγκρισιν εἴρηται ὁ Πατὴρ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ὁμοούσιος τῷ Πατρὶ ὁ Υἱός. ἔστι δέ τις καὶ ἄλλη ἔννοια ἐναποκειμένη τῷ ῥητῷ. τί γὰρ θαυμαστὸν εἰ μείζονα ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Πατέρα ὡμολόγησε, Λόγος ὢν καὶ σὰρξ γεγονώς, ὁπόταν καὶ ἀγγέλων ὤφθη κατὰ τὴν δόξαν ἐλάττων καὶ ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὸ εἶδος; Ἠλάττωσας γὰρ αὐτόν, φησί, βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους· καὶ πάλιν, Τὸν δὲ βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους ἠλαττωμένον, καὶ τὸ Εἴδομεν αὐτόν, καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν εἶδος οὐδὲ κάλλος, ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἐκλεῖπον παρὰ πάντας τοὺς[1] ἀνθρώπους. τούτων δὲ πάντων ἠνέσχετο διὰ τὴν πολλὴν αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ πλάσμα φιλανθρωπίαν, ἵνα τὸ ἀπολωλὸς πρόβατον ἀνασώσηται καὶ τὸ σωθὲν καταμίξῃ καὶ τὸν κατελθόντα ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς Ἱεριχώ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο περιπεσόντα λῃσταῖς, εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑγιαίνοντα πάλιν ἐπαναγάγῃ πατρίδα.

Ἢ καὶ τὴν φάτνην αὐτῷ ὀνειδίσει[2] αἱρετικός, δι' ἧς ἄλογος ὢν ἐτράφη ὑπὸ τοῦ Λόγου; καὶ τὴν πενίαν προοίσει, ὅτι κλινιδίου οὐκ ηὐπόρησεν ὁ

[1] τοὺς om. F. [2] ὁ add. F.

[1] Cf. John 1, 14. καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, . . . πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας. "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, . . . full of grace and truth."

in these words too we have a clear demonstration of the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father. For I know that comparisons must strictly apply to things of the same nature. Thus we speak of an angel as greater than an angel, and of a man as juster than a man, and of a bird as swifter than a bird. If, then, comparisons arise only among objects of the same species, and by comparison the Father has been called greater than the Son, then the Son is consubstantial with the Father. But there is another idea which is contained in this expression. What wonder is it that He confessed the Father greater than Himself, He who is the Word and was made flesh,[1] since He was seen to be inferior both to the angels in glory and to men in form? For it is said: "Thou hast made him a little less than the angels";[2] and again: "Who was made a little lower than the angels";[3] and: "We have seen Him, and He hath neither form nor comeliness . . ., and His form was deficient before all men."[4] All these things He endured on account of His exceeding love for the work of His creation, that He might rescue the lost sheep, and restore it to the flock after He had saved it; and that He might bring back again in good health to his own country the man who "went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and so fell among robbers."[5]

What, will the heretic reproach Him even for the manger, wherein, being as yet speechless, He was nurtured by the Word? Or will he cast up to Him His poverty, because He, the son of the carpenter,

[2] Psal. 8, 5. [3] Heb. 2, 9.
[4] Isa. 53, 2–3. [5] Luke 10, 30.

τοῦ[1] τέκτονος υἱός; διὰ τοῦτο Πατρὸς ἐλάττων ὁ Υἱός, ὅτι διὰ σὲ γέγονε νεκρός, ἵνα σε τῆς νεκρότητος ἀπαλλάξῃ καὶ ζωῆς μέτοχον ἐπουρανίου ποιήσῃ; ὥσπερ ἄν, εἴ τις καὶ τὸν ἰατρὸν αἰτιῷτο, ὅτι συγκύπτων ἐπὶ τὰ πάθη τῆς δυσωδίας συναπολαύῃ, ἵνα τοὺς πεπονθότας ἰάσηται.

Διὰ σὲ καὶ τὴν ὥραν καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς κρίσεως ἀγνοεῖ· καίτοι οὐδὲν λανθάνει τὴν ὄντως σοφίαν, Πάντα γὰρ δι' αὐτῆς ἐγένετο, οὐδεὶς δὲ[2] ἀνθρώπων πώποτε ὃ πεποίηκεν ἀγνοεῖ. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οἰκονομεῖ διὰ τὴν σὴν ἀσθένειαν, ἵνα μήτε τῷ στενῷ τῆς προθεσμίας οἱ ἁμαρτήσαντες τῇ ἀθυμίᾳ καταπέσωσιν, ὡς οὐχ ὑπολελειμμένου καιροῦ μετανοίας, μηδ' αὖ πάλιν οἱ πολεμοῦντες μακρὰν τῇ ἀντικειμένῃ δυνάμει διὰ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ χρόνου λειποτακτήσωσιν. ἑκατέρους τοίνυν διὰ τῆς προσποιητῆς ἀγνοίας οἰκονομεῖ· τῷ μὲν διὰ τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα συντέμνων τὸν χρόνον, τῷ δὲ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας καιρὸν μετανοίας ταμιευόμενος. καίτοι ἐν τοῖς Εὐαγγελίοις ἑαυτὸν συγκαταριθμήσας τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι διὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν, ὡς ἔφην, ἀσθένειαν· ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὡς τελείοις κατ' ἰδίαν διαλεγόμενος, καθ' ὑπεξαίρεσιν

[1] τοῦ om. F. [2] οὐδὲ F.

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[1] Cf. John 1, 3. Πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν, ὃ γέγονεν. "All things were made by him: and without him was made nothing that was made."

[2] Cf. Rom. 1, 19–20. "Because that which may be known

was not provided with a cradle? For this reason is the Son less than the Father—because He became mortal and died for your sake, that He might free you from mortality and make you a sharer in heavenly life? It is just as if one should censure the physician for bending over the bed of sickness and breathing in the foul odours that he may heal the sick!

It is for your sake that He knows not either the hour or the day of judgment; and yet nothing escapes the true wisdom; for all things were made by it,[1] and no one in the world is ever ignorant of that which it has made.[2] But thus He makes provision because of your weakness, that, on the one hand, sinners may not be plunged into despair by the scantiness of the term allotted to them, believing that no opportunity is left them for repentance, and again, on the other hand, that those who are waging a long war against the opposing power may not, because of the length of their time, desert their ranks. For each of these two classes, therefore, He makes provision by His assumed ignorance; for the one He cuts down the time in consideration of the good fight they are making, for the other, because of their sins, He dispenses opportunity of repentance. And yet in the Gospels He numbered Himself among the ignorant because, as I have said, of the weakness of the many; and in the Acts of the Apostles, as if discoursing separately to the perfect,

of God is manifest in them; for God hath showed it unto them.

"For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse."

ἑαυτοῦ φησίν, Οὐχ ὑμῶν ἐστὶ γνῶναι χρόνους ἢ καιροὺς οὓς ὁ Πατὴρ ἔθετο ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ἐπιβολὴν εἰρήσθω παχύτερον. ἤδη δὲ ἐξεταστέον ὑψηλότερον τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ ῥητοῦ καὶ κρουστέον τὴν θύραν τῆς γνώσεως, εἴ πως δυνηθείην ἐξεγεῖραι τὸν οἰκοδεσπότην, τὸν τοὺς πνευματικοὺς ἄρτους διδόντα τοῖς αἰτοῦσιν αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ φίλοι καὶ ἀδελφοί εἰσιν οὓς ἑστιᾶσαι σπουδάζομεν.

Οἱ ἅγιοι μαθηταὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπέκεινα θεωρίας, ὡς ἔνι ἀνθρώποις, ἐλθόντες καὶ καθαρθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου, τὸ τέλος ἐπιζητοῦσι καὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην μακαριότητα γνῶναι ποθοῦσιν, ὅπερ ἀγνοεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἀπεφήνατο· ἡμέραν μὲν λέγων πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκριβῆ κατάληψιν τῶν ἐπινοίων τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὥραν δὲ τὴν ἑνάδος καὶ μονάδος θεωρίαν, ὧν τὴν εἴδησιν μόνῳ προσένειμε τῷ Πατρί. ὑπονοῶ τοίνυν ὅτι ἐκεῖνο λέγεται περὶ ἑαυτοῦ εἰδέναι ὁ Θεὸς ὅπερ ἐστί, κἀκεῖνο μὴ εἰδέναι, ὅπερ οὔκ ἐστι. δικαιοσύνην μὲν γὰρ καὶ σοφίαν λέγεται εἰδέναι ὁ Θεός, αὐτοδικαιοσύνη καὶ σοφία ὑπάρχων, ἀδικίαν δὲ καὶ πονηρίαν ἀγνοεῖν· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἀδικία καὶ πονηρία ὁ κτίσας ἡμᾶς Θεός. εἰ τοίνυν ἐκεῖνο λέγεται περὶ ἑαυτοῦ εἰδέναι ὁ Θεὸς ὅπερ ἐστί, κἀκεῖνο μὴ εἰδέναι ὅπερ οὐκ ἔστιν (οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως ἐπί-

He says,[1] evidently to the exclusion of Himself: "It is not for you to know the times or moments which the Father hath put in his own power."

Let so much suffice in a rough way for the fulfilment of our first purpose. I must now examine more deeply into the meaning of the expression, and must knock at the gate of knowledge, if in any way I may be able to awaken the Master of the house, who gives spiritual bread to those who ask for it, inasmuch as those whom we desire to entertain are friends and brothers.

Our Saviour's holy disciples, having been brought to the highest degree of speculative knowledge attainable by man, and made clean by the Word,[2] now enquire about the end, and long to know the ultimate felicity, of which our Lord declared that both His angels and He were ignorant; for by "day" He meant the accurate comprehension in its entirety of the purposes of God, by "hour" the contemplation of oneness and aloneness, the knowledge of which He assigned to the Father alone. Therefore I presume that God is said to know about Himself that which is, and not to know that which is not. For God is said to know justice and wisdom, being Himself justice and wisdom, but to be ignorant of unrighteousness and wickedness; for the God who made us cannot be injustice and ignorance. If, therefore, God is said to know about Himself that which is, and not to know that which is not; and if our Lord, according to the design of the incarnation

[1] Acts 1, 7.

[2] Cf. John 15, 3. *Ἤδη ὑμεῖς καθαροί ἐστε, διὰ τὸν λόγον ὃν λελάληκα ὑμῖν.* "Now you are clean by reason of the word, which I have spoken to you."

νοιαν καὶ παχυτέραν διδασκαλίαν τὸ ἔσχατον ὀρεκτόν), οὐκ ἄρα οἶδεν ὁ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν τὸ τέλος καὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην μακαριότητα. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οἱ ἄγγελοι, φησίν, ἴσασι· τουτέστιν, οὐδὲ ἡ ἐν αὐτοῖς θεωρία καὶ οἱ λόγοι τῶν διακονιῶν εἰσὶ τὸ ἔσχατον ὀρεκτόν. παχεῖα γὰρ καὶ τούτων ἡ γνῶσις συγκρίσει τοῦ πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον.

Μόνος δὲ ὁ Πατήρ, φησίν, ἐπίσταται, ἐπεὶ[1] *καὶ αὐτός ἐστι τὸ τέλος καὶ ἡ ἐσχάτη μακαριότης. ὅταν γὰρ μηκέτι Θεὸν ἐν τοῖς κατόπτροις μηδὲ διὰ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιγινώσκωμεν, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ ὡς μόνῳ καὶ ἑνὶ προσέλθωμεν, τότε καὶ τὸ ἔσχατον τέλος εἰσόμεθα. Χριστοῦ γὰρ βασιλείαν*[2] *φασὶν εἶναι πᾶσαν τὴν ἔνυλον γνῶσιν· τοῦ δὲ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς τὴν ἄϋλον, καὶ ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, αὐτῆς τῆς θεότητος θεωρίαν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ τέλος καὶ ἡ ἐσχάτη μακαριότης κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Λόγου ἐπίνοιαν. τί γάρ φησιν ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ; Κἀγὼ ἀναστήσω αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· ἀνάστασιν λέγων τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνύλου γνώσεως ἐπὶ τὴν ἄϋλον θεωρίαν μετάβασιν, ἐσχάτην δὲ ἡμέραν τὴν γνῶσιν ταύτην εἰπών, μεθ' ἣν οὐκ ἔστιν ἑτέρα. τηνικαῦτα γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ἡμῶν ἐξανίσταται καὶ πρὸς ὕψος μακάριον*

[1] ἐπειδὴ F.
[2] In marg. τί ἐστι χριστοῦ βασίλεια F.

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[1] By παχυτέραν, "denser," Basil seems to mean acquired or empirical knowledge; cf. beginning of second paragraph below, "But since our intellect made dense by its earthly covering," etc. Cf. Is. 6, 10. "Make the heart of this people fat (ἐπαχύνθη), and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their

and empirical knowledge,[1] is not the ultimate end desired; then our Saviour does not know the end, that is, the ultimate felicity. But not even the angels, He says,[2] know; that is, not even the contemplation which is in them nor the principles of their ministries are the ultimate end desired. For even their knowledge, in comparison with the knowledge which is face to face, is dim and obscure.[3]

Only the Father, He says, knows; and this is because He Himself is the end, that is, the ultimate felicity. For when we no longer know God in a mirror or through any alien medium, but approach Him as "alone" and "one," then we shall know also the ultimate end. For they say that Christ's kingdom is all our material knowledge, but God's and the Father's the immaterial, that is, as one might say, the contemplation of divinity itself. But our Lord Himself is also the end, that is, the ultimate felicity, according to the design of the Word. For what does He[4] say in the Gospel? "And I will raise him up in the last day"; meaning by "raising up" the transition from material knowledge to immaterial contemplation, and signifying by "last day" that knowledge beyond which no other knowledge exists. For only then is our mind arisen, and awakened to sublime felicity, when it

ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed." Cf. also Matt. 13, 15; Acts 28, 27.

[2] Cf. Mark 13, 32. *Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης καὶ τῆς ὥρας οὐδεὶς οἶδεν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἐν οὐρανῷ, οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ.* "But of that day or hour no man knoweth, neither the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but the Father."

[3] Cf. edition of Garnier-Maran, *ad. loc.*

[4] John 6, 40.

διεγείρεται, ὁπηνίκα ἂν θεωρήσῃ τὴν ἑνάδα καὶ μονάδα τοῦ Λόγου.

Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ παχυνθεὶς ἡμῶν ὁ νοῦς τῷ χοῒ συνεδέθη καὶ τῷ πηλῷ συμφύρεται καὶ ψιλῇ τῇ θεωρίᾳ ἐνατενίζειν ἀδυνατεῖ, διὰ τῶν συγγενῶν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ κόσμων ποδηγούμενος, τὰς ἐνεργείας τοῦ κτίστου κατανοεῖ καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων τέως ἐπιγινώσκει, ἵν' οὕτω κατὰ μικρὸν αὐξηθεὶς ἰσχύσῃ ποτὲ καὶ αὐτῇ γυμνῇ προσελθεῖν τῇ θεότητι. κατὰ ταύτην δὲ οἶμαι τὴν ἐπίνοιαν εἰρῆσθαι καὶ τὸ Ὁ Πατήρ μου μείζων μού ἐστι, καὶ τὸ Οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν δοῦναι, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡτοίμασται ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρός. τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι καὶ τὸ παραδοῦναι τὴν βασιλείαν τὸν Χριστὸν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρί, ἀπαρχὴν ὄντα καὶ οὐ τέλος κατὰ τὴν παχυτέραν, ὡς ἔφην, διδασκαλίαν, ἥτις ὡς πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ οὐ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Υἱὸν θεωρεῖται. ὅτι δὲ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, πάλιν ἐρωτήσασι τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων τὸ Πότε ἀποκαθιστάνεις τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ Ἰσραήλ; φησίν, Οὐχ ἡμῶν [1] ἐστὶ

[1] ὑμῶν F.

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[1] In a similar way Basil speaks in Letter VI of "the beauties of the earth" (τὰ περὶ γῆν κάλλη); and in his commentary on Isaias, the Church is spoken of as "adorned with ornaments which become it" (Πρέπουσιν ἑαυτῇ κοσμίοις κεκοσμημένη). Cf. also Gregory of Nazianzus, Letter CVII.

[2] John 14, 28. [3] Matt. 20, 23.

[4] Cf. 1 Cor. 15, 24. Εἶτα τὸ τέλος, ὅταν παραδῷ τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρί, ὅταν καταργήσῃ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν. "Afterwards the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God and the Father, when he shall have brought to nought all principality, and power, and virtue."

shall contemplate the "Oneness" and the "Aloneness" of the Word.

But since our intellect, made dense by its earthy covering, is imprisoned and mixed with the clay, so that it cannot gaze steadfastly upon pure contemplation, strictly guided as it is by the adornments[1] that are akin to its own body, it strives to comprehend the activities of the Maker, judging these in the meantime from their effects, to the end that in this way, gradually growing in strength, it may one day acquire the power to approach the unveiled divinity itself. It is, I think, in accordance with this conception that the words were spoken: "The Father is greater than I,"[2] and "It is not Mine to give, but to them for whom it is prepared by My Father."[3] For this is also what is meant by Christ's delivering up the kingdom to God and the Father,[4] since Christ is the first fruits[5] and not the end, according, as I have said, to the empirical knowledge, that which speculates with reference to us and not with reference to the Son Himself. And that this is so is made clear by His answer to the disciples in the Acts of the Apostles when they asked[6] for the second time: "When wilt Thou restore again the kingdom to Israel?" and He replied,[7] "It is not for

[5] Cf. 1 Cor. 15, 20. *Νυνὶ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἐγένετο.* "But now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first fruits of them that slept." Cf. also 1 Cor. 15, 23.

[6] Cf. Acts 1, 6. *Οἱ μὲν οὖν συνελθόντες ἐπηρώτων αὐτὸν λέγοντες, Κύριε, εἰ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἀποκαθιστάνεις τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ Ἰσραήλ.* "They therefore who were come together, asked Him, saying: Lord, wilt Thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?"

[7] Acts 1, 7.

γνῶναι χρόνους ἢ καιροὺς οὓς ὁ Πατὴρ ἔθετο ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ, τουτέστιν, οὐ τῶν συνδεδεμένων σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι τῆς τοιαύτης βασιλείας ἡ γνῶσις.

Ταύτην γὰρ τὴν θεωρίαν ὁ Πατὴρ ἐναπέθετο τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ· ἐξουσίαν λέγων τοὺς ἐξουσιαζομένους, ἰδίαν[1] *δέ, οὓς*[2] *μὴ κατέχει*[3] *ἄγνοια τῶν κατωτέρω πραγμάτων. χρόνους δὲ καὶ καιροὺς μή μοι νόει αἰσθητούς, ἀλλὰ διαστήματά τινα γνώσεως ὑπὸ τοῦ νοητοῦ ἡλίου γινόμενα. δεῖ γὰρ τὴν προσευχὴν ἐκείνην ἐπὶ πέρας ἀχθῆναι τοῦ Δεσπότου ἡμῶν· Ἰησοῦς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ προσευξάμενος, Δὸς αὐτοῖς, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἓν ὦσι, καθὼς ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ ἕν ἐσμεν, Πάτερ. εἷς γὰρ ὢν ὁ Θεός, ἐν ἑκάστῳ γινόμενος, ἑνοῖ τοὺς πάντας· καὶ ἀπόλλυται ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῇ τῆς μονάδος ἐπιδημίᾳ.*

Κἀγὼ μὲν οὕτως ἐπέβαλον τῷ ῥητῷ κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν ἐπιχείρησιν. εἰ δέ τις βέλτιον λέγοι ἢ διορθοίη εὐσεβῶς τὰ ἡμέτερα, καὶ λεγέτω καὶ διορθούσθω, καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἀνταποδώσει ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν αὐλίζεται φθόνος, ὅτι μηδὲ φιλονεικίας ἕνεκεν ἢ κενοδοξίας ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῶν ῥημάτων κεχωρήκαμεν,

[1] *ἰδίαν* Capps ; *ἰδίους* MSS. and edd. [2] *ὧν* F. [3] *μετέχει* F.

[1] *I.e.* the days and hours of inner experience marked by a time-keeper within us.

you to know the times or the moments, which the Father hath put in His own power;" that is to say, the knowledge of such a kingdom does not belong to those who are imprisoned by flesh and blood.

This contemplation the Father has placed in His own power: by "power" He means those who are empowered, by "His own," those who are not held down by their ignorance of things below. By "times and moments" pray do not understand those of sense, but certain distinctions of knowledge caused by the sun perceptible to the mind.[1] For that prayer of our Master's must needs be fulfilled; since it is Jesus who prayed: "Grant unto them that they also may be one in us, even as I and Thou, Father, are one."[2] That is, God being one, and being in each, unifies all; and number is destroyed by the indwelling of the unity.

Such is my second attempt to deal with the text. If anyone can interpret it better, or amend our words in a spirit of reverence, let him both interpret and amend, and the Lord will reward him on our behalf. For no envy abides in our heart, because we were not led through rivalry or vanity to enter upon this investigation of the passages, but for the

[2] Cf. John 17, 20-22. *Οὐ περὶ τούτων δὲ ἐρωτῶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν πιστευσόντων διὰ τοῦ λόγου αὐτῶν εἰς ἐμέ· ἵνα πάντες ἓν ὦσι· καθὼς σύ, πάτερ, ἐν ἐμοί, κἀγὼ ἐν σοί, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἓν ὦσιν. ἵνα ὁ κόσμος πιστεύσῃ ὅτι σύ με ἀπέστειλας. καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν δόξαν ἣν δέδωκάς μοι, δέδωκα αὐτοῖς, ἵνα ὦσιν ἕν, καθὼς ἡμεῖς ἕν ἐσμεν.* "And not for them only do I pray, but for them also who through their word shall believe in Me;

"That they all may be one, as Thou, Father, in Me, and I in Thee; that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me.

"And the glory which Thou hast given Me, I have given to them; that they may be one, as we also are one."

ἀλλ' ὠφελείας ἕνεκεν τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν παρακρούεσθαι τὰ ὀστράκινα σκεύη, τὰ τὸν θησαυρὸν ἔχοντα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὑπὸ τῶν λιθοκαρδίων καὶ ἀπεριτμήτων ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ἐκ τῆς μωρᾶς ὡπλισμένων σοφίας.

Πάλιν διὰ τοῦ σοφοῦ Σολομῶντος ἐν Παροιμίαις κέκτισται,[1] Κύριος γάρ, φησίν, ἔκτισέ με. καὶ ἀρχὴ ὁδῶν εὐαγγελικῶν ὀνομάζεται, ἀγουσῶν ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, οὐ κατ' οὐσίαν κτίσις, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν ὁδὸς γεγονώς. τὸ γὰρ γεγονέναι καὶ τὸ ἐκτίσθαι ταὐτὸν δηλοῖ. ὡς γὰρ ὁδὸς γέγονε, καὶ θύρα, καὶ ποιμήν, καὶ ἄγγελος, καὶ πρόβατον, καὶ πάλιν ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ἀπόστολος, ἄλλων κατ' ἄλλην ἐπίνοιαν τῶν ὀνομάτων κειμένων.

Τί ἂν εἴποι πάλιν ὁ αἱρετικὸς περὶ τοῦ ἀνυποτάκτου Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ δι' ἡμᾶς ἁμαρτίαν[2] γεγενημένου; γέγραπται γάρ, Ὅταν ὑποταγῇ αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, τότε καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Υἱὸς ὑποταγήσεται τῷ ὑποτάξαντι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα. οὐ φοβῇ, ἄνθρωπε, τὸν Θεὸν ἀνυπότακτον ὀνομαζόμενον;[3] τὴν γὰρ σὴν ὑποταγὴν ἰδίαν ποιεῖται, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀντιτείνειν σε πρὸς τὴν ἀρετήν, ἀνυπότακτον ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάζει. οὕτω ποτὲ καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔφη εἶναι τὸν

[1] κτίζεται F. [2] ἁμαρτίας F. [3] διὰ σὲ add. F.

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[1] Cf. 2 Cor. 4, 6–7. Ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ὁ εἰπὼν ἐκ σκότους φῶς λάμψαι, ὃς ἔλαμψεν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, πρὸς φωτισμὸν τῆς γνώσεως τῆς δόξης τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν προσώπῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Ἔχομεν δὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦτον ἐν ὀστρακίνοις σκεύεσιν, ἵνα ἡ ὑπερβολὴ τῆς δυνάμεως ᾖ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ μὴ ἐξ ἡμῶν.

"For God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.

benefit of our brothers, lest the earthen vessels[1] which contain the treasure of God should seem to be deceived by those stony-hearted and uncircumcised men, who have armed themselves with their foolish wisdom.

Again, according to the words of the wise Solomon[2] in the Proverbs, He was created; "For," he says, "the Lord created me." And He is called, "the beginning of the evangelical ways"—the ways which lead us to the kingdom of heaven; being not a creature in substance, but having become a "way" according to the "divine dispensation." For "becoming" and "being created" have the same signification. For just as He became a way, so too He became a gate, a shepherd, an angel, a sheep, and again a high priest and an apostle;[3] different names being applied for different notions.

Again, what would the heretic say about the "unsubjected" God and Him who was made sin[4] for us? For it is written: "And when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then the Son also Himself shall be subject unto Him that put all things under Him."[5] Are you not afraid, sir, of the God who is called "unsubjected"? For He makes your subjection His own, and, because you struggle against virtue, He calls Himself "unsubjected." In this sense too He once spoke of Himself as "Him who was perse-

"But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us."

[2] Prov. 8, 22. [3] Heb. 3, 1.

[4] Cf. 2 Cor. 5, 21. Τὸν γὰρ μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν, ἵνα ἡμεῖς γινώμεθα δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ. "Him, who knew no sin, He hath made sin for us, that we might be made the justice of God in Him."

[5] 1 Cor. 15, 28.

διωκόμενον, Σαῦλε γάρ, φησί, Σαῦλε, τί με διώκεις; ἡνίκα ἐπὶ Δαμασκὸν ἔτρεχε, τοὺς μαθητὰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνδῆσαι βουλόμενος. καὶ πάλιν ἑαυτὸν γυμνὸν ὀνομάζει, ἑνός τινος τῶν ἀδελφῶν γυμνητεύοντος, Γυμνὸς γάρ, φησίν, ἤμην, καὶ περιεβάλετέ με. καί, ἄλλου ἐν φυλακῇ ὄντος, ἑαυτὸν ἔφη εἶναι τὸν καθειργμένον. αὐτὸς γὰρ τὰς ἀσθενείας[1] ἡμῶν ἦρε καὶ τὰς νόσους ἐβάστασε. μία δὲ τῶν ἀσθενειῶν ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ ἀνυποταξία, καὶ ταύτην ἐβάστασε. διὸ καὶ τὰ συμβαίνοντα ἡμῖν περιστατικὰ ἰδιοποιεῖται ὁ Κύριος, ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς κοινωνίας τὰ ἡμέτερα πάθη ἀναδεχόμενος.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Οὐ δύναται ὁ Υἱὸς ποιεῖν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐδέν, λαμβάνουσιν οἱ θεομάχοι ἐπὶ καταστροφῇ τῶν ἀκουόντων. ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ῥητὸν μάλιστα καταγγέλλει τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως εἶναι τὸν Υἱὸν τῷ Πατρί. εἰ γὰρ ἕκαστον τῶν λογικῶν κτισμάτων δύναταί τι ποιεῖν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, αὐτεξούσιον[2] ἔχον τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρόν τε καὶ κρεῖττον ῥοπήν, ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς οὐ δύναταί τι ποιεῖν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, οὐ κτίσμα ὁ Υἱός. εἰ δὲ μὴ κτίσμα, ὁμοούσιος τῷ Πατρί. καὶ πάλιν, οὐδὲν τῶν κτισμάτων τὰ ὅσα βούλεται δύναται. Ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πάντα ὅσα ἠθέλησεν ἐποίησεν. οὐκ ἄρα κτίσμα ὁ Υἱός. καὶ

[1] ἀσθενείας F, ἁμαρτίας editi.
[2] καὶ ἴσην add. F.

[1] Acts 9, 4. [2] Matt. 25, 36.
[3] Cf. Is. 53, 4. Οὗτος τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ὀδυνᾶται, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐλογισάμεθα αὐτὸν εἶναι, ἐν πόνῳ καὶ ἐν πληγῇ καὶ ἐν κακώσει. "Surely He hath borne our griefs, and

cuted"; for He says,[1] "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me?" when Saul was rushing to Damascus, wishing to imprison the disciples of Christ. And again He calls Himself "naked," when someone of His brethren is naked; for He says,[2] "I was naked, and you covered Me." And when another was in prison, He said that He Himself was the one who was confined. For He Himself took up our infirmities and bore our sickness.[3] Now one of our infirmities is lack of subjection, and this He bore. Therefore it is that whatever adversities befall us, these the Lord makes His own, through His fellowship with us assuming our sufferings.

God's enemies use also the following quotation[4] for the overthrow of those who listen to them: "The Son cannot do anything of Himself." But to me this statement likewise proclaims in a special manner that the Son is of the same nature as the Father. For if every creature endowed with reason can do anything by itself, having the inclination to the better and worse entirely within its own power, and the Son can do nothing by Himself, then the Son is no creature. And if He is no creature, He is consubstantial with the Father. Again, no creature can do all that it wishes. But the Son in heaven and on earth did everything that He desired. Therefore the Son is not a creature. Again, all creatures

carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem Him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted."

Matt. 8, 17. *Ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου, λέγοντος, Αὐτὸς τὰς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ἔλαβε, καὶ τὰς νόσους ἐβάστασεν.* "That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying, Himself took our infirmities, and bore our sickness."

[4] John 5, 19.

πάλιν, πάντα τὰ κτίσματα ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων συνέστηκεν ἢ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐστὶ δεκτικά. ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς αὐτοδικαιοσύνη καὶ ἄϋλός ἐστιν. οὐκ ἄρα κτίσμα ὁ Υἱός. εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο, ὁμοούσιος τῷ Πατρί.

Καὶ αὕτη μὲν αὐτάρκης ἡμῖν ἡ ἐξέτασις κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἡμετέραν τῶν τεθέντων ῥητῶν. ἤδη δὲ λοιπὸν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιπίπτοντας τῷ Πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ τῷ λόγῳ χωρήσωμεν, καθαιροῦντες αὐτῶν πᾶν ὕψωμα διανοίας ἐπαιρόμενον κατὰ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ. κτίσμα λέγεις τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. πᾶν δὲ κτίσμα δοῦλόν ἐστι τοῦ κτίσαντος· Τὰ γὰρ σύμπαντα, φησί, δοῦλα σά. εἰ δὲ δοῦλόν ἐστι,[1] καὶ ἐπίκτητον ἔχει τὴν ἁγιότητα· πᾶν δὲ ὃ ἐπίκτητον ἔχει τὴν ἁγιότητα οὐκ ἀνεπίδεκτόν ἐστι κακίας. τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, κατ᾽ οὐσίαν ὂν ἅγιον, πηγὴ ἁγιασμοῦ προσηγόρευται.[2] οὐκ ἄρα κτίσμα τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. εἰ δὲ μὴ κτίσμα, ὁμοούσιόν ἐστι τῷ Θεῷ. πῶς δὲ δοῦλον ἀποκαλεῖς, εἰπέ μοι, τὸν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἐλευθεροῦντά σε τῆς δουλείας; Ὁ γὰρ νόμος, φησί, τοῦ Πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς ἠλευθέρωσέ με[3] ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τῆς ἁμαρτίας. ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τρεπτὴν αὐτοῦ ποτε τὴν οὐσίαν τολμήσεις εἰπεῖν, ἀφορῶν εἰς τὴν φύσιν τῆς ἀντικειμένης δυνάμεως, ἥτις ὡς ἀστραπὴ πέπτωκεν ἀπὸ τοῦ

[1] ἐστι om. F. [2] προσαγορεύεται F. [3] σε F.

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[1] Basil doubtless has in mind the famous passage of St. Paul, Rom. 7, 15-25.

[2] 2 Cor. 10, 5.

are either constituted of antagonistic inclinations or are susceptible of them.[1] But the Son is Righteousness itself and immaterial. Therefore the Son is not a creature. And if He is not a creature, He is consubstantial with the Father.

This examination of the passages cited, having been made to the best of our ability, will suffice for our purpose. We will now advance our argument against those who oppose the Holy Spirit, endeavouring to lay low all that haughtiness of spirit of theirs which "exalteth itself against the knowledge of God."[2] You assert that the Holy Spirit is a creature. But every creature is the slave of its creator; "for all things serve thee,"[3] He says. And if He is a slave, the holiness which He possesses is an acquired attribute; and everything which possesses holiness as an acquired attribute is not susceptible of evil. But the Holy Spirit, being holy by His very substance, has been called "the fount of sanctification."[4] Therefore the Holy Spirit is not a creature. And if He is not a creature, He is consubstantial with God. But how, tell me, can you call him a slave who frees you from slavery through baptism? "For," he says,[5] "the law of the spirit of life hath delivered me from the law of sin." But neither will you ever dare to call His substance changeable, if you will consider the nature of the opposing power, which like a flash of lightning fell

[3] Psal. 119, 91.

[4] Cf. Rom. 1, 4. πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης, "spirit of sanctification."

[5] Cf. Rom. 8, 2. "For the law of the spirit of life, *in Christ Jesus,* hath delivered me from the law of sin *and of death.*"

οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἐξέπεσε τῆς ὄντως ζωῆς διὰ τὸ ἐπίκτητον ἐσχηκέναι τὴν ἁγιότητα καὶ ἐπηκολουθηκέναι τῇ κακῇ βουλῇ τὴν ἀλλοίωσιν. τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἐκπεσὼν τῆς μονάδος καὶ τὸ ἀγγελικὸν ἀποῤῥίψας ἀξίωμα, ἀπὸ τοῦ τρόπου ὠνομάσθη διάβολος, ἀποσβεσθείσης μὲν αὐτοῦ τῆς προτέρας καὶ μακαρίας ἕξεως, τῆς δὲ ἀντικειμένης ταύτης δυνάμεως ἀναφθείσης.

Ἔπειτα εἰ κτίσμα λέγει[1] τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, πεπερατωμένην τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ εἰσάγει. πῶς οὖν σταθήσεται τὸ Πνεῦμα Κυρίου πεπλήρωκε τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ τὸ Ποῦ πορευθῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματός σου; ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἁπλοῦν αὐτὸ τῇ φύσει, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁμολογεῖ. ἀριθμῷ γὰρ ἓν αὐτὸ ὀνομάζει. πᾶν δὲ ὃ ἓν ἀριθμῷ, τοῦτο οὐχ ἁπλοῦν, ὡς ἔφην, ἐστίν. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἁπλοῦν ἐστὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἐξ οὐσίας καὶ ἁγιασμοῦ συνέστηκε· τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον σύνθετον. καὶ τίς οὕτως ἀνόητος ὡς σύνθετον εἰπεῖν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ μὴ ἁπλοῦν καὶ κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἁπλότητος λόγον ὁμοούσιον Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ;

Εἰ δὲ δεῖ προβῆναι[2] τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἐποπτεῦσαι τὰ μείζονα, ἐκ τούτου μάλιστα τὴν θεϊκὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος θεωρήσωμεν. τρεῖς κτίσεις εὑρήκαμεν ὀνομαζομένας ἐν τῇ Γραφῇ· μίαν μὲν καὶ πρώτην, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι

[1] λέγοι F. [2] προσβῆναι F.

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[1] Cf. Luke 10, 18. Εἶπε δὲ αὐτοῖς, Ἐθεώρουν τὸν Σατανᾶν ὡς ἀστραπὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεσόντα. "And He said unto them, I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven."

[2] Cf. Letter CCIV, where the name διάβολος is more

from heaven,[1] and fell out of the true life, all because its holiness was an acquired attribute and its change a consequence of its evil desire. Accordingly, after it fell out of the aloneness and cast aside its angelic dignity, from its character it received the name of Devil,[2] its former state of felicity having now been extinguished and this opposing power having been enkindled.

Furthermore, if the heretic asserts that the Holy Spirit is a creature, the nature he ascribes to it is circumscribed. How then can the following statements stand: "The spirit of the Lord hath filled the whole world,"[3] and, "Whither shall I go from thy spirit"?[4] But he goes still farther, as it seems, and will not admit that the Holy Spirit is simple, either. For he calls Him one in number. But, as I have said, not everything which is one in number is necessarily simple. And if the Holy Spirit is not simple, He is made up of substance and of sanctity, and as such is composite. Who is so foolish as to call the Holy Spirit composite and not simple, and yet, according to the very definition of simplicity, consubstantial with the Father and the Son?

Now if we are to go forward with the argument and examine higher subjects, let us next contemplate more particularly the divine power of the Holy Spirit. We find three creations mentioned in the Scriptures; one, and the first, the eduction from

immediately connected with διαβάλλειν "to calumniate." Διάβολος alone is used several times in the Bible in the sense of slanderer, but ὁ διάβολος is applied *par excellence* to the "Slanderer" as the prince of devils and the author of evil.

[3] Wis. 1, 7. [4] Psal. 138, 7.

παραγωγήν· δευτέραν δέ, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ χείρονος εἰς τὸ κρεῖττον ἀλλοίωσιν· τρίτην δέ, τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τῶν νεκρῶν. ἐν ταύταις εὑρήσεις συνεργὸν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. οὐρανῶν γὰρ οὐσίωσις. καὶ τί φησιν ὁ Δαβίδ; Τῷ λόγῳ Κυρίου οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν, καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν. πάλιν ἄνθρωπος διὰ βαπτίσματος κτίζεται, Εἴ τις γὰρ ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις. καὶ τί φησι τοῖς μαθηταῖς ὁ Σωτήρ; Ἀπελθόντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. ὁρᾷς κἀνταῦθα συμπαρὸν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. τί δ' ἂν εἴποις καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν, ὅταν ἐκλείψωμεν, καὶ εἰς τὸν χοῦν ἡμῶν ἐπιστρέψωμεν; Γῆ γάρ ἐσμεν καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπελευσόμεθα, καὶ Ἀποστελεῖ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ κτίσει ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἀνακαινίσει τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς. ἣν γὰρ Παῦλος ὁ ἅγιος ἐξανάστασιν εἴρηκε, ταύτην Δαβὶδ ἀνακαινισμὸν προσηγόρευσε.

Ἀκούσωμεν δὲ πάλιν τοῦ ἁρπαγέντος ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ. τί φησιν; ὅτι Ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἁγίου Πνεύματός ἐστε. πᾶς δὲ ναὸς Θεοῦ ναός.

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[1] Psal. 32, 6.

[2] 2 Cor. 5, 17. The English version translates: "If then any be in Christ a new creature," etc.

[3] Matt. 28, 19.

non-being into being; second, the change from worse to better; and third, the resurrection of the dead. In all these you will find the Holy Spirit co-operating with Father and Son. Take, for instance, the calling into existence of the heavens. And what does David say?[1] "By the word of the Lord the heavens were established; and all the power of them by the spirit of His mouth." And man is created again through baptism, "for if any be in Christ, he is a new creature."[2] And what does the Saviour[3] say to His disciples? "Going teach ye all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Here also you see the Holy Spirit present with the Father and the Son. And again, what would you say about the resurrection of the dead, when we shall have departed and returned to our dust? For, "Dust we are, and unto dust we shall return";[4] and, "He will send forth the Holy Ghost, and He will create us, and renew the face of the earth."[5] For what Saint Paul called resurrection, David described as renewal.

But let us listen again to him who was snatched up to the third heaven. What does he say?[6] "You are the temple of the Holy Ghost, who is in you." But every temple is a temple of God. And if we

[4] Cf. Gen. 3, 19. Ὅτι γῆ εἶ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσῃ. "For dust thou art, and into dust thou shalt return."

[5] Cf. Psal. 103, 30. Ἐξαποστελεῖς τὸ πνεῦμά σου καὶ κτισθήσονται, καὶ ἀνακαινιεῖς τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς. "Thou shalt send forth thy spirit, and they shall be created: and thou shalt renew the face of the earth."

[6] Cf. 1 Cor. 6, 19. Τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν Ἁγίου Πνεύματός ἐστιν. "Your members are the temple of the Holy Ghost, who is in you."

εἰ δὲ ναός ἐσμεν τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, Θεὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. λέγεται[1] *δὲ καὶ ναὸς Σολομῶντος, ἀλλ' ὡς κατασκευάσαντος. εἰ δὲ οὕτως ἐσμὲν ναὸς*[2] *τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, Θεὸς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, Ὁ γὰρ πάντα κατασκευάσας Θεός. εἰ δὲ ὡς προσκυνουμένου καὶ ἐνοικοῦντος ἐν ἡμῖν, ὁμολογήσωμεν*[3] *αὐτὸ εἶναι Θεόν. Κυρίῳ γὰρ τῷ Θεῷ σου προσκυνήσεις, καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις. εἰ δὲ τὴν Θεὸς φωνὴν παραιτοῖντο, μανθανέτωσαν τίνος ἐστὶ σημαντικὸν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο. παρὰ γὰρ τὸ τεθεικέναι τὰ πάντα ἢ θεᾶσθαι τὰ πάντα ὁ*[4] *Θεὸς ὀνομάζεται. εἰ τοίνυν Θεὸς εἴρηται παρὰ τὸ τεθεικέναι ἢ θεᾶσθαι τὰ πάντα, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα πάντα γινώσκει τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν τὰ ἡμέτερα, Θεὸς οὖν*[5] *τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.*

Καὶ πάλιν, εἰ ἡ μάχαιρα τοῦ Πνεύματος ῥῆμά ἐστι Θεοῦ, Θεὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἐκείνου γάρ ἐστιν ἡ μάχαιρα, οὗ καὶ ῥῆμα καλεῖται. καὶ[6] *εἰ καὶ δεξιὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὀνομάζεται (Δεξιὰ γὰρ Κυρίου ἐποίησε δύναμιν, καὶ Ἡ δεξιά σου, Κύριε, ἔθραυσεν ἐχθρούς), δάκτυλος δὲ Θεοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, κατὰ τὸ ῥητόν, τὸ Εἰ ἐγὼ ἐν δακτύλῳ Θεοῦ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια· ὅπερ ἐν ἑτέρῳ Εὐαγγελίῳ γέγραπται, τὸ Εἰ ἐγὼ ἐν*

[1] *λέγει* F. [2] *ναοὶ* F. [3] *ὁμολογήσομεν* F.
[4] *τὰ πάντα ὁ* om. F. [5] *οὖν* om. F.
[6] *καὶ* om. F.

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[1] Heb. 3, 4. [2] Matt. 4, 10.
[3] Cf. 1 Cor. 2, 10–11. A false etymology, of course. *Θεός* is properly connected with *θύω*, "I sacrifice."

are a temple of the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit is God. We also speak of "the temple of Solomon," but as ascribed to him who built it. And if it is in this sense that we are the temple of the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit is God; for "He that created all things is God";[1] but if it is in the sense that the temple is of one who is worshipped and dwells within us, then let us confess that He is God. For "the Lord thy God shalt thou adore, and Him only shalt thou serve."[2] But if they reject the word "God," let them learn of what this word is significant. For He is called "God" (*θε-ός*) from His having established (*τε-θει-κέναι*) all things, or His seeing (*θε-ᾶσθαι*) all things.[3] If, therefore, He is called "God" from His having established or His seeing all things, and if the Spirit knows all the things of God, just as the spirit within us knows all the things of ourselves, then the Holy Spirit is God.

And again, if "the sword of the Holy Spirit is the word of God,"[4] the Holy Spirit is God; for the sword is of Him of whom also the word is said to be. And if furthermore He is called the right hand of the Father (for "the right hand of the Lord hath wrought strength,"[5] and "thy right hand, O Lord, hath slain the enemy"),[6] and if the Holy Spirit is the finger of God, according to the saying: "If I by the finger of God cast out devils,"[7] which in another Gospel reads, "If I by the Spirit of God

[4] Cf. Ephes. 6, 17. *Καὶ τὴν περικεφαλαίαν τοῦ σωτηρίου δέξασθε, καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ πνεύματος, ὅ ἐστι ῥῆμα Θεοῦ.* "And take unto you the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit (which is the word of God)."

[5] Psal. 117, 16. [6] Ex. 15, 6.

[7] Luke 11, 20.

Πνεύματι Θεοῦ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως τῷ[1] Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς προσκυνητῆς καὶ ἁγίας Τριάδος τοσαῦτα ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος εἰρήσθω· οὐ γὰρ νῦν δυνατὸν πλατύτερον ἐξετάσαι τὸν περὶ αὐτῆς λόγον. ὑμεῖς δὲ λαβόντες παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ταπεινώσεως σπέρματα, στάχυν ὥριμον ἑαυτοῖς γεωργήσατε, ἐπεὶ καὶ τόκους, ὡς ἴστε, τῶν τοιούτων προσαπαιτούμεθα. πιστεύω δὲ τῷ Θεῷ ὅτι καρποφορήσετε καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν διὰ τὴν καθαρότητα τοῦ βίου ὑμῶν. Μακάριοι γάρ, φησίν,[2] οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν Θεὸν ὄψονται. καὶ μηδὲ ἄλλο τι, ἀδελφοί, τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν νομίσητε ἢ τὴν τῶν ὄντων ἀληθῆ κατανόησιν, ἣν καὶ μακαριότητα ὀνομάζουσιν αἱ Θεῖαι Γραφαί· Ἡ γὰρ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστί. περὶ δὲ τὸν ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπον οὐδὲν ἕτερον[3] ἢ θεωρία συνίσταται. θεωρία ἂν εἴη λοιπὸν[4] ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν. ὧν γὰρ νῦν τὰς σκιὰς καθορῶμεν, ὡς ἐν κατόπτρῳ, ὕστερον ἀπαλλαγέντες τοῦ γεώδους σώματος τούτου καὶ ἄφθαρτον ἐπενδυσάμενοι καὶ ἀθάνατον, τούτων τὰ ἀρχέτυπα κατοψόμεθα. ὀψόμεθα δέ, εἴ γε τὸν ἑαυτῶν βίον πρὸς τὸ εὐθὲς κυβερνῴημεν καὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως ποιοίμεθα πρόνοιαν, ὧν χωρὶς οὐδεὶς ὄψεται τὸν Κύριον. Εἰς γὰρ κακότεχνον ψυχήν, φησίν, οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται σοφία, οὐδὲ κατοικήσει ἐν σώματι καταχρέῳ ἁμαρτίας.[5] καὶ μηδεὶς ὑποκρουέτω λέγων ὅτι τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἀγνοῶν,

[1] τῷ om. F.
[2] φησίν om. F.
[3] εστιν (sic) F.
[4] λοιπὸν om. F.

cast out devils,"[1] then the Holy Spirit is of the same nature as the Father and Son.

Concerning the adorable and Holy Trinity let so much suffice for the present; for we cannot now extend the discussion further. But do you, taking from our humility the seeds, grow for yourselves the ripe ear, since, as you know, we demand also usury from the same. I trust in God that through the purity of your lives you will gather a harvest both thirty and sixty and a hundredfold. For, "Blessed," He says,[2] "are the clean of heart: for they shall see God." And, brethren, consider not the kingdom of heaven as aught other than the true contemplation of the realities, which the Holy Scriptures call "blessedness"; "for the kingdom of heaven is within you."[3] And concerning the inner man, it consists of nothing but contemplation. Therefore the kingdom of heaven must be contemplation. For the things of which we now see only the shadows, as in a mirror, later, when we have been freed from this earthy body and have put on an indestructible and immortal body, we shall behold their archetypes. We shall behold them, provided that we guide our lives aright, and take forethought for the true faith; for without these things no one shall see the Lord. "For wisdom will not enter into a malicious soul, nor dwell in a body subject to sin."[4] Let no one interrupt me and say: "In your ignorance of things

[1] Matt. 12, 28. [2] Matt. 5, 8.
[3] Cf. Luke 17, 21. Ἰδοῦ γάρ, ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστίν. "For lo, the kingdom of God is within you."
[4] Wis. 1, 4.

[5] ἁμαρτίαις F.

περὶ τῆς ἀσωμάτου καὶ πάντῃ ἀνύλου οὐσίας ἡμῖν φιλοσοφεῖς. καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπον κρίνω τὰς μὲν αἰσθήσεις ἐᾶν ἀκωλύτως τῶν ἰδίων ἐμπίπλασθαι ὑλῶν, τὸν δὲ νοῦν μόνον εἴργεσθαι τῆς οἰκείας ἐνεργείας. ὡς γὰρ ἡ αἴσθησις τῶν αἰσθητῶν, οὕτως ὁ νοῦς τῶν νοητῶν ἐπίβολός ἐστιν.

Ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο λεκτέον, ὅτι τὰ φυσικὰ κριτήρια ἀδίδακτα πεποίηκεν ὁ κτίσας ἡμᾶς Θεός. οὐδεὶς γὰρ διδάσκει τὰς ὄψεις χρωμάτων ἢ σχημάτων ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι, οὐδ᾽ ἀκοὴν ψόφων τε καὶ φωνῶν, οὐδ᾽ ὄσφρησιν ἀτμῶν εὐωδῶν τε καὶ δυσωδῶν, οὐδὲ γεῦσιν χυμῶν καὶ χυλῶν, οὐδ᾽ ἁφὴν μαλακῶν καὶ σκληρῶν, ἢ θερμῶν καὶ ψυχρῶν. οὐδὲ τὸν νοῦν ἐπιβάλλειν τοῖς νοητοῖς διδάξοι τις ἄν. καὶ ὥσπερ εἴ τι πάθοιεν αὗται, ἐπιμελείας μόνον προσδέονται, καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐνέργειαν εὐκόλως ἀποπληροῦσιν· οὕτως καὶ ὁ νοῦς, σαρκὶ συνδεθεὶς καὶ τῶν ἐκ ταύτης φαντασιῶν πληρωθείς, πίστεως δεῖται καὶ πολιτείας ὀρθῆς, αἵτινες καταρτίζουσι τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ ἐλάφου καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἱστῶσιν αὐτόν. τοῦτό τοι αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ σοφὸς παρεγγυᾷ Σολομῶν, καί ποτε μὲν ἡμῖν προφέρει τὸν ἀνεπαίσχυντον ἐργάτην τὸν μύρμηκα καὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν πρακτικὴν ἡμῖν ὁδὸν ὑπογράφει· ποτὲ δὲ τὸ τῆς

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[1] Cf. Psal. 17, 34. *Ὁ καταρτιζόμενος τοὺς πόδας μου ὡς ἐλάφου, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἱστῶν με.* "Who hath made my feet like the feet of harts: and who setteth me upon high places."

[2] Cf. Prov. 6, 6. *Ἴθι πρὸς τὸν μύρμηκα, ὦ ὀκνηρέ, καὶ ζήλωσον ἰδὼν τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ γενοῦ ἐκείνου σοφώτερος.* "Go to the ant, O sluggard, and consider her ways, and learn wisdom."

that are before your feet, you philosophize to us about bodiless and altogether immaterial substance." For I consider it absurd that we should permit our senses to sate themselves without hindrance with their own material food, but that we should exclude the mind alone from its own particular activity. For just as the senses lay hold of things sensible, so the mind lays hold of things mentally perceptible.

But at the same time this also must be said, that the God who created us made the natural sense faculties to be independent of a teacher. For no one teaches sight—how to apprehend colours or shapes—nor hearing—how to apprehend sounds and voices—nor smell—how to apprehend pleasant and unpleasant odours—nor taste—how to apprehend flavours and savours—nor touch—how to apprehend things smooth and rough, or hot and cold. No more could anyone teach the mind how to lay hold upon things mentally perceptible. And just as the senses, if they take on an ailment, need care only, and then readily fulfil their own peculiar activities, so too the mind, being imprisoned in the flesh and filled with the phantasies therefrom, needs only faith and right conduct, and these "make its feet like the feet of harts and set it upon high places."[1] Indeed this same advice is given by the wise Solomon, when on one occasion[2] he sets the ant before us as an example of the unashamed worker, and thereby outlines the path which is practical for us; and on another[3] refers us to the "wise bee's

[3] Ecclesiasticus 11, 3. Rufinus says that the Latin Church ascribes this book to Solomon, but that Greeks know it as "the Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach" (translation of Origen's Homily on Numbers xvii).

σοφῆς μελίττης κηρόπλαστον ὄργανον, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς[1] φυσικὴν θεωρίαν αἰνίττεται, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ περὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος ἐγκέκραται λόγος, εἴπερ ἐκ καλλονῆς κτισμάτων ἀναλόγως ὁ γενεσιουργὸς θεωρεῖται.

Ἀλλ' εὐχαριστήσαντες Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, πέρας ἐπιθῶμεν τῷ γράμματι, ἐπειδὴ πᾶν μέτρον ἄριστον, ὡς[2] ἡ παροιμία φησίν.

IX

Μαξίμῳ φιλοσόφῳ[3]

Εἰκόνες ὄντως τῶν ψυχῶν εἰσὶν οἱ λόγοι. κατεμάθομεν οὖν σε διὰ τοῦ γράμματος, ὅσον φασίν, ἐξ ὀνύχων τὸν λέοντα· καὶ ἥσθημεν εὑρόντες περὶ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐκ ἀργῶς διακείμενον, τήν τε πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἀγάπην καὶ πρὸς[4] τὸν πλησίον. σημεῖον δὲ ποιούμεθα τοῦ μέν, τὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς δεξιότητά σου, τοῦ δέ, τὴν περὶ τὴν γνῶσιν σπουδήν. ὅτι δὲ ἐν δυοῖν τούτοιν ἐστὶ τὰ ὅλα, γνώριμον παντὶ Χριστοῦ μαθητῇ.

[1] τὴν om. F. [2] ὡς Capps; καὶ MSS. and editi.
[3] A, B, C, D, E; μαξίμῳ φιλοσόφῳ περὶ τῶν πονημάτων διονυσίου F.
[4] πρὸς om. F.

[1] Cf. Soph. frag. 366, 5 (Nauck). Τὸ ποικιλώτατον ὄργανον ξουθῆς μελίσσης κηρόπλαστον. "The very gaudy wax-moulding implement of the yellow bee." The actual words used by Basil belong to Sophocles and not to Ecclesiasticus.

wax-moulding implement,"[1] and thereby suggests the contemplation of nature, wherein is also blended the doctrine of the Holy Trinity—that is, if from the beauty of created things the nature of the creator is correspondingly inferred.

But giving thanks to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, let me make an end to this letter, since everything is best in moderation, as the proverb[2] has it.

LETTER IX

To Maximus the Philosopher[3]

In truth words are the images of the mind. So we have learned to know you from your letters, as truly as, according to the proverb, from the claw the lion.[4] And we are delighted to find you not slothful in your attitude towards the first and greatest of the virtues—love towards both God and neighbour. We hold as an indication of the latter your tenderness for me; as a proof of the former, your enthusiasm for knowledge. That everything is contained in these two is known to every disciple of Christ.

[2] This saying was attributed to Cleobulus, one of the Seven Sages, who lived in Lindus in Rhodes at about 580 B.C.; cf. Diog. Laert. 89–93.

[3] Written about A.D. 361.

[4] Cf. Lucian, *Hermotimus*, 34: "They say indeed that one of the sculptors, Pheidias I believe, after looking at a lion's claw, calculated the size of the whole lion when fashioned in proportion to the claw."

Ἃ δὲ ἐπιζητεῖς τῶν Διονυσίου ἦλθε μὲν εἰς ἡμᾶς, καὶ πάνυ πολλά· οὐ πάρεστί γε μὴν τὰ βιβλία, διόπερ οὐκ ἀπεστείλαμεν. ἔχομεν δὲ γνώμης οὕτως. οὐ πάντα θαυμάζομεν τοῦ ἀνδρός· ἔστι δὲ ἃ καὶ παντελῶς διαγράφομεν. σχεδὸν γὰρ ταυτησὶ τῆς νῦν περιθρυλλουμένης[1] ἀσεβείας, τῆς κατὰ τὸ Ἀνόμοιον λέγω, οὗτός ἐστιν, ὅσα γε ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, ὁ πρῶτος ἀνθρώποις[2] τὰ σπέρματα παρασχών. αἴτιον δέ, οἶμαι, οὐ πονηρία γνώμης, ἀλλὰ τὸ σφόδρα βούλεσθαι ἀντιτείνειν τῷ Σαβελλίῳ. εἴωθα γοῦν ἀπεικάζειν[3] ἐγὼ φυτοκόμῳ, νεαροῦ φυτοῦ διαστροφὴν ἀπευθύνοντι, εἶτα τῇ ἀμετρίᾳ τῆς ἀνθολκῆς διαμαρτόντι τοῦ μέσου καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον ἀπαγαγόντι τὸ βλάστημα. τοιοῦτόν τι καὶ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ὅτι[4] γεγενημένον εὕρομεν. ἀντιβαίνων γὰρ σφοδρῶς τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ τοῦ Λίβυος, ἔλαθεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον κακὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν φιλοτιμίας[5] ὑπενεχθείς. ᾧ γε τοσοῦτον ἐξαρκοῦν δεῖξαι, ὅτι οὐ ταὐτὸν τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ Πατὴρ καὶ Υἱός, καὶ ταύτῃ[6] ἔχειν κατὰ τοῦ βλασφημοῦντος τὰ νικητήρια, ὁ δέ, ἵνα πάνυ ἐναργῶς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ περιόντος κατακρατῇ, οὐχ ἑτερότητα μόνον τῶν ὑποστάσεων τίθεται, ἀλλὰ

[1] θρυλουμένης E. [2] ἀνθρώποις om. C, D.
[3] τοῦτον add. Ed. Ben. ; om. A, B, C, D, E, F.
[4] ὅτι om. F. [5] φιλονεικίας A, B, F.
[6] ταύτῃ C, D ; ταῦτα A, B, E, F, editi.

[1] Dionysius of Alexandria, after St. Cyprian the most eminent bishop of the third century. He studied under Origen, and succeeded Heracles, Origen's successor, as head of the Alexandrian School.

LETTER IX

The works of Dionysius[1] for which you ask came to us, and numerous indeed they were. The books, however, are not at hand now, so we have not forwarded them. We hold the following opinion about them: we do not admire all the works of the man, and there are some which we even cross out of our lists entirely. For, so far as we know, this person is about the first to have furnished men with the germs of that impiety which is now so noised about, I mean the doctrine of unlikeness.[2] But the reason, I think, is not perversity of mind, but an excessive desire to combat Sabellius.[3] Indeed, I am wont to compare Dionysius with a gardener who, in trying to correct the bent of a young plant, by a miscalculation of the counter-strain, misses the mean, and draws the stem to the opposite side. Some such experience we find has happened to this man. For while violently resisting the irreverence of the Libyan, by his extravagant zeal he has unconsciously been carried over to the opposite evil. Although it was quite enough for him to show that the Father and Son are not the same in substance,[4] and thus to have his triumphs over the blasphemer, yet in order that he might gain the mastery distinctly and with something to spare, he not only establishes a difference in persons

[2] Cf. Introd., p. xxiii.

[3] The active period of Sabellius was the close of the second and the beginning of the third century. He gave his name to the sect of Sabellianism, the Eastern name for the movement known as Patripassianism in the West.

[4] Aristotle, *Met.* VI. 3. 1, says, "Substance seems most of all to be that which first exists" (*μάλιστα δοκεῖ εἶναι οὐσία τὸ ὑποκείμενον πρῶτον*). He has reference here to matter simply, in the metaphysical sense.

καὶ οὐσίας διαφορὰν καὶ δυνάμεως ὕφεσιν καὶ δόξης παραλλαγήν. ὥστε ἐκ τούτου συνέβη, κακοῦ[1] *μὲν αὐτὸν κακὸν διαμεῖψαι, τῆς δὲ ὀρθότητος τοῦ λόγου διαμαρτεῖν. ταύτῃ τοι καὶ παντοδαπός ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασιν,*[2] *νῦν μὲν ἀναιρῶν τὸ ὁμοούσιον, διὰ τὸν ἐπ' ἀθετήσει τῶν ὑποστάσεων κακῶς αὐτῷ κεχρημένον, νῦν δὲ προσιέμενος ἐν οἷς ἀπολογεῖται πρὸς τὸν ὁμώνυμον. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἀφῆκε φωνὰς ἥκιστα πρεπούσας*[3] *τῷ Πνεύματι, τῆς προσκυνουμένης αὐτὸ θεότητος ἐξορίζων καὶ κάτω που τῇ κτιστῇ καὶ λειτουργῷ φύσει συναριθμῶν. ὁ μὲν οὖν*[4] *ἀνὴρ τοιοῦτος.*

Ἐγὼ[5] *δέ, εἰ χρὴ τοὐμὸν ἴδιον*[6] *εἰπεῖν, τὸ ὅμοιον κατ' οὐσίαν, εἰ μὲν προσκείμενον ἔχει*[7] *τὸ ἀπαραλλάκτως, δέχομαι τὴν φωνὴν ὡς εἰς ταὐτὸν τῷ ὁμοουσίῳ φέρουσαν κατὰ τὴν ὑγιῆ*[8] *δηλονότι τοῦ ὁμοουσίου διάνοιαν. ὅπερ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Νικαίᾳ νοήσαντας, Φῶς ἐκ Φωτὸς καὶ Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τὸν Μονογενῆ προσειπόντας, ἐπαγαγεῖν ἀκολούθως τὸ ὁμοούσιον. οὔτε οὖν φωτὸς πρὸς φῶς, οὔτε ἀληθείας πρὸς ἀλήθειάν ποτε, οὔτε τῆς τοῦ Μονογενοῦς οὐσίας*

[1] *κακὸν . . . κακοῦ* E, F.
[2] *γράμμασι* B.
[3] *τῷ* om. et *πνευματικῷ* C, D.
[4] *οὖν* om. C, D.
[5] *ἐμὲ* F.
[6] *ἴδιον* om. B, D.
[7] *ἔχοι* A, B, C, D.
[8] *ὑγιᾶ* A, B, C, D.

[1] Dionysius of Rome, a Greek by birth, consecrated July 22, A.D. 259, on the death of Xystus, in the persecution of Valerian. When Dionysius of Alexandria was accused of holding doctrines akin to those of Sabellius, the Roman

(*hypostases*), but also a difference in substance (*ousia*), a diminution of power, and a variation of glory. The consequence is that he has exchanged one evil for another, and has fallen short of correctness of doctrine. Furthermore, he is variable in his writings, now discarding the doctrine of identity of substance because of Sabellius, who made evil use of it for the rejection of the doctrine of three Persons, now accepting it in the defence he wrote, addressed to his namesake.[1] Besides, he uttered expressions regarding the Spirit which by no means befit the Spirit, banishing Him from the divinity we worship, and listing Him somewhere below, along with the created and ministering class of things. Such a man is Dionysius.

But if I may speak my own opinion, I accept the phrase "like in substance," provided the qualification "invariably" is added to it, on the ground that it comes to the same thing as "identity of substance," according, be it understood, to the sound conception of the term. It was with precisely this thought in mind that the fathers of Nicaea consistently added "of the same substance" when they addressed the Only-Begotten as "Light from Light," "True God from True God," and so forth. Now no one can possibly conceive of any variation either of light in relation to light, or of truth to truth, or of the

Dionysius wrote to him, and obtained such a satisfactory explanation that he declared him free from suspicion. Cf. Athanasius, *Ep. de Sententia Dionysii*, 1. 252. However, it is clear, as Basil has just intimated, that Dionysius of Alexandria had been incorrect in thought as well as in words, and did not at first grasp the true doctrine with the necessary distinctness.

πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐπινοῆσαί τινα παραλλαγὴν δυνατόν. εἴ τις οὖν οὕτως, ὡς εἶπον, ἐκδέχοιτο, προσίεμαι τὴν φωνήν. εἰ δέ τις τοῦ ὁμοίου τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον ἀποτέμνοι,[1] ὅπερ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν πεποιήκασιν, ὑποπτεύω τὸ ῥῆμα ὡς τοῦ Μονογενοῦς τὴν δόξαν κατασμίκρυνον. καὶ γὰρ καὶ[2] ἀμυδραῖς ἐμφερείαις, καὶ πλεῖστον τῶν ἀρχετύπων ἀποδεούσαις, τὸ ὅμοιον πολλάκις ἐπινοεῖν[3] εἰώθαμεν. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἧττον οἶμαι[4] κακουργεῖσθαι τὸ ὁμοούσιον, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς τίθεμαι.

Ἀλλὰ τί οὐκ ἐπιφοιτᾷς ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄριστε, ὥστε παρόντας ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλοις περὶ τῶν τοιούτων[5] διαλεχθῆναι, καὶ μὴ γράμμασιν ἀψύχοις καταπιστεύειν τὰ τηλικαῦτα, ἄλλως τε μήτε πάνυ δημοσιεύειν τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐγνωκότας; ὅπως οὖν μὴ τὸ τοῦ Διογένους πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν εἴπῃς, ὅτι ἴσον ἐστὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τὸ δεῦρο καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐνθένδε. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀῤῥωστίας, μικροῦ δεῖν, ὥσπερ τὰ φυτὰ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας ἀεὶ κατεχόμεθα· καὶ ἅμα τὸ λαθεῖν βιώσαντες ἐν[6] τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἄγομεν. σὺ δὲ ἔῤῥωσαί τε, ὥς φασι, καὶ ἅμα πολίτην σεαυτὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης ποιήσας δίκαιος ἂν εἴης καὶ δεῦρο

[1] ἀποτέμνει F.
[2] καὶ om. A.
[3] ἐπιλέγειν A, B, C, D.
[4] οἴομαι C, D.
[5] τῶν τοιούτων: τούτων A, B, C, D.
[6] ἐπὶ A, B, C, D.

[1] At the Acacian Council of Constantinople (360), where fifty bishops accepted the creed of Ariminum as revised at Nica (at or near modern Hafsa, just to the south of Adrianople), proscribing "substance" (οὐσία) and "person" (ὑπόστασις), and declared the Son "like the Father, as say the Holy Scriptures." Cf. Theod. ii. 16 and Soc. ii. 40.

[2] Cf. Theodoret, *Ep.* lxii, where he speaks of "Live your life in oblivion" (λάθε βιώσας) as a saying of "one of the

substance of the Only-Begotten to that of the Father. Accordingly, if anyone will accept the statement with my interpretation of it, I have no objection to make. But if anyone eliminates the invariability of the likeness, as those in Constantinople[1] have done, I become suspicious of the expression, on the ground that it diminishes the glory of the Only-Begotten. For, as you know, we are often accustomed to conceive of "likeness" on the basis of similarities that are sometimes faint and sometimes fall far short of the archetypes. I have therefore myself adopted "likeness of substance," because I think that this term is less open to perversion.

But why do you not visit us, dear friend, that we may discuss such matters in each other's company, and not entrust subjects of such importance to lifeless words, especially since I have definitely decided not to make my own convictions public? I beg of you not to answer me as Diogenes did Alexander, saying, "You are just as near to me as I to you." For, by reason of my infirmities, I am, I may almost say, like a plant, always held to the same place; and at the same time I regard "life in oblivion"[2] as among the highest of blessings. You, on the other hand, are in good health, according to report; and since, at the same time, you have made yourself a citizen of the world, you would be justified in coming to visit us even at this place, a part of your

men once called wise," probably referring to Epicurus. For similar expressions, cf. Horace, *Ep.* I. xvii. 10; Ovid, *Tristia*, III. iv. 25; and Euripides, *Iph. in Aul.* 17. Plutarch has an essay on the question, "Is the saying, 'Live your life in oblivion,' well said?" (εἰ καλῶς εἴρηται τὸ λάθε βιώσας).

φοιτᾷν ὡς εἰς μέρος τῆς σεαυτοῦ. εἰ γὰρ καὶ τοῖς πρακτικοῖς ὑμῖν πρέπουσι δῆμοι καὶ πόλεις, αἷς τὰς κατ᾽ ἀρετὴν πράξεις ἐνεπιδείκνυσθε,[1] ἀλλά γε πρὸς θεωρίαν καὶ τὴν κατὰ νοῦν ἐνέργειαν, δι᾽ ἧς συναπτόμεθα τῷ Θεῷ, ἀγαθὴ συνεργὸς ἡ ἡσυχία· ἣν πολλὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχατιᾶς[2] καὶ ἄφθονον γεωργοῦμεν σὺν αὐτῷ γε εἰπεῖν τῷ παρασχομένῳ ἡμῖν Θεῷ. εἰ δὲ πάντως δεῖ περιέπειν τὰς δυναστείας καὶ περιφρονεῖν τοὺς χαμαὶ κειμένους ἡμᾶς,[3] σὺ δὲ ἀλλὰ γράφε ἡμῖν,[4] καὶ ταύτῃ ποίει ἡδίους.

X

Πρὸς ἐλευθέραν[5]

Τέχνη τίς ἐστι περιστερῶν θηρευτικὴ τοιαύτη. ὅταν μιᾶς ἐγκρατεῖς γένωνται οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα σπουδάζοντες, χειροήθη τε ταύτην καὶ ὁμόσιτον ἑαυτοῖς ἀπεργάσωνται· τότε μύρῳ τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτῆς χρίσαντες ἐῶσι συναγελασθῆναι ταῖς ἔξωθεν. ἡ δὲ τοῦ μύρου ἐκείνου εὐωδία τὴν αὐτόνομον ἐκείνην ἀγέλην κτῆμα ποιεῖται[6] τῷ κεκτημένῳ[7] τὴν τιθασσόν· πρὸς γὰρ τὰς εὐπνοίας[8] καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ συνεφέπονταί τε καὶ εἰσοικίζονται.

Τί δὲ βουλόμενος ἐντεῦθεν ἄρχομαι τοῦ γράμματος; ὅτι λαβὼν τὸν υἱὸν Διονύσιον, τόν ποτε

[1] ἐπιδείκνυσθε A, B, F.
[2] ταύτης add. C, D.
[3] ἡμᾶς om. F.
[4] ἡμῖν om. E, F.
[5] πρὸς ἐλευθέραν προτρεπτικὴ εἰς τὸ μεταθέσθαι πρὸς τὸν ὑψηλὸν βίον C.

own country, as it were. For even though communities and cities, wherein you display your activities in accordance with virtue, suit best your life of activity, yet for contemplation and the exercise of the mind, whereby we are joined to God, solitude is an excellent co-worker; and here, at the edge of the world, we enjoy a solitude abundant and bountiful, by the grace of that God who Himself has granted us the power to speak. If, however, you must by all means court the circles of influence and scorn us who lie upon the ground, at any rate do write to us, and thereby make us happier.

LETTER X

To a Widow [1]

There is a device used in hunting doves, and it is of this kind. When the fowlers capture one dove, they make it so tame that it will eat with them; then they anoint its wings with ointment, and permit it to flock with the doves outside. Now the sweet odour of the ointment brings the wild flock into the possession of the master of the tame bird; for, attracted by the fragrant scent, all the rest enter the cote with the tame one.

But with what purpose do I begin my letter thus? Because after taking your son Dionysius, once called

[1] Written during Basil's retreat. "Widow" (ἐλευθέραν) is not to be taken as a proper name. A similar use is to be seen in Rom. 7. 3; Greg. Naz., *Ep.* 147.

[6] ποιεῖ E. [7] ἑπομένῳ E.
[8] εὐπνοούσας A, B, C, D.

Διομήδην, καὶ τῷ θείῳ μύρῳ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ πτέρυγας διαχρίσας, ἐξέπεμψα πρὸς τὴν σὴν σεμνοπρέπειαν, ὥστε καὶ σὲ αὐτὴν συναναπτῆναι αὐτῷ καὶ καταλαβεῖν τὴν καλιὰν ἣν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπήξατο ὁ προειρημένος. ἐὰν οὖν [1] *ταῦτα ἴδοιμι ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ζωῆς καὶ τὴν σὴν σεμνοπρέπειαν πρὸς τὸν ὑψηλὸν βίον μεταθεμένην, πολλῶν προσώπων ἀξίων τοῦ Θεοῦ δεηθήσομαι τὴν κεχρεωστημένην τιμὴν ἀποπληρῶσαι αὐτῷ.*

XI

Ἀνεπίγραφος, ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ [2]

Τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι τὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν συνδιαγαγόντες τοῖς τέκνοις ἡμῶν καὶ ὄντως τελείαν ἑορτὴν ἑορτάσαντες τῷ Κυρίῳ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν αὐτῶν περὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἀγάπην, προεπέμψαμεν μεθ' ὑγείας πρὸς τὴν σὴν εὐγένειαν, εὐχόμενοι τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ Θεῷ καὶ αὐτοῖς δοθῆναι εἰρηνικὸν ἄγγελον βοηθὸν καὶ σύμπορον καὶ σὲ παρ' αὐτῶν καταληφθῆναι ἐν ὑγείᾳ καὶ πάσῃ εἰρηνικῇ καταστάσει, ἵνα, ὅπουπερ ἂν ἦτε δουλεύοντες τῷ Κυρίῳ καὶ εὐχαριστοῦντες αὐτῷ, εὐφραίνητε [3] *ἡμᾶς, ἕως ἐσμὲν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ἀκούοντας τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν. ἐὰν δὲ παράσχῃ ὁ ἅγιος Θεὸς* [4] *θᾶττόν σε τῶν φροντίδων τούτων ἀπαλλαγῆναι, παρακαλοῦ-*

[1] *οὖν* om. E.
[2] *φίλῳ* C.
[3] *εὐφραίνηται* C.
[4] *Θεὸς* om. C, D.

[1] The second name given at baptism. During the first three centuries, largely as a means of personal safety, the

Diomedes,[1] and anointing the wings of his soul with the divine ointment, I have sent him forth to your ladyship, that you also may fly up with him, and enter the nest which he has built amongst us. Now if I live to see this sight, and to behold your ladyship a convert to our exalted life, I shall need many lives that are worthy in God's sight, in order fully to repay to Him the honour which is His due.[2]

LETTER XI

Without Address, for Friendship's Sake[3]

After, by God's grace, we had spent the holy day with our children, and had solemnized a truly perfect feast to the Lord by reason of their abounding love of God, we sent them on in good health to your Highness. Meanwhile we prayed to the loving God both that there be granted to them an angel of peace as a helper and companion of their journey, and that you might be found by them in good health and perfect tranquillity, in order that, wherever you may be, serving the Lord and rendering thanks unto Him, you may make us happy as long as we are in the world, by letting us receive tidings from you. If the holy God soon permits you to be released from your cares, we beg you to con-

Christians assumed names which had no Christian association whatsoever.

[2] *I.e.*, Basil would have to live his pious life several times over in order to be able to give proper thanks to God.

[3] Of the same date as X. Probably written to Olympius, the recipient of Letter XII. Cf. Letter CCXI.

μέν σε μηδὲν προτιμῆσαι τῆς μεθ' ἡμῶν[1] διαγωγῆς. οἶμαι γὰρ μὴ εὑρεῖν σε τοὺς οὕτως ἀγαπῶντας καὶ ἀντιποιουμένους τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν φιλίας. ἕως οὖν ἂν οἰκονομῇ ὁ ἅγιος τὸν χωρισμὸν τοῦτον, διὰ πάσης προφάσεως παραμυθεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς γράμμασι καταξίου.

XII

Ὀλυμπίῳ

Ἔγραφες ἡμῖν πρότερον μὲν ὀλίγα, νῦν δὲ οὐδὲ ὀλίγα· καὶ ἔοικεν ἡ βραχυλογία προϊοῦσα τῷ χρόνῳ παντελὴς γίνεσθαι ἀφωνία. ἐπάνελθε τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔθος, ὡς οὐκ ἔτι σοι μεμψόμεθα λακωνίζοντι πρὸς ἡμᾶς διὰ γραμμάτων· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μικρὰ γράμματα, σύμβολα ὄντα τῆς μεγάλης σου διαθέσεως, πολλοῦ ἄξια ποιησόμεθα. μόνον ἐπίστελλε ἡμῖν.

XIII

Ὀλυμπίῳ

Ὥσπερ τῶν ἄλλων ὡρίμων ἕκαστον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ ὥρᾳ ἀπαντᾷ, ἐν ἦρι μὲν τὰ ἄνθη, ἐν θέρει δὲ οἱ ἀστάχυες, τῷ δὲ μετοπώρῳ τὸ μῆλον, οὕτω χειμῶνος καρπός εἰσιν οἱ λόγοι.

[1] παρ' ἡμῖν C, D.

sider nothing more urgent than a sojourn with us. For I am sure that you have found none who so love you or value so highly your friendship. Therefore, so long as the Holy One ordains this separation, deign to console us with a letter on every pretext.

LETTER XII

To Olympius [1]

You used to write us little enough, but now you do not write even that little; and if your brevity keeps increasing with the time, it seems likely to become complete speechlessness. Therefore return to your old custom, for I shall never again find fault with you for practising Laconic brevity on me by letter. Nay, even your little letters, seeing that they are tokens of magnanimity, I shall value highly. Only write to me.

LETTER XIII

To Olympius [2]

Just as all things that come with the seasons have each its own proper season for recurring—the flowers in spring, the ears of corn in summer, the apple in autumn—so winter's fruit is conversation.

[1] Of the same date as X. Cf. Letter IV, note 1.
[2] Closely connected with the preceding letter.

XIV

Γρηγορίῳ ἑταίρῳ [1]

Ἐγὼ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μοι ἐπιστείλαντος Γρηγορίου πάλαι βούλεσθαι ἡμῖν συντυχεῖν, προσθέντος δὲ ὅτι καὶ σοὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο δεδογμένον ἐστί, τὸ μέν τι [2] καὶ διὰ τὸ πολλάκις ἀπατηθῆναι [3] ὀκνηρῶς [4] ἔχων πρὸς τὸ πιστεύειν, τὸ δέ τι καὶ ὑπὸ ἀσχολιῶν περισπώμενος, ἐπιμεῖναι οὐκ ἠδυνήθην. δεῖ γάρ με ἤδη ἀπελαύνειν ἐπὶ τὸν Πόντον, ἐν ᾧ τάχα ποτέ, τοῦ Θεοῦ βουληθέντος, τῆς πλάνης λήξομεν.[5] μόλις γὰρ ἀπογνοὺς τῶν ματαίων ἐλπίδων, ἃς ἐπὶ σοὶ εἶχόν ποτε, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν ὀνείρων, εἰ δεῖ ἀληθέστερον εἰπεῖν (ἐπαινῶ γὰρ τὸν εἰπόντα τὰς ἐλπίδας εἶναι γρηγορούντων ἐνύπνια), κατὰ βίου ζήτησιν ἐπὶ τὸν Πόντον ἀπῆλθον. ἔνθα δή μοι ὁ Θεὸς χωρίον ὑπέδειξεν ἀκριβῶς συμβαῖνον [6] τῷ ἐμῷ τρόπῳ, ὥστε, οἷον πολλάκις εἰώθαμεν [7] ἀργοῦντες ἅμα καὶ παίζοντες τῇ διανοίᾳ συμπλάττειν, τοιοῦτον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας καθορᾶν.

Ὄρος γάρ ἐστιν ὑψηλὸν βαθείᾳ ὕλῃ κεκαλυμμένον, ψυχροῖς ὕδασι καὶ διαφανέσιν εἰς τὸ κατ' ἄρκτον κατάρρυτον. τούτου ταῖς ὑπωρείαις πεδίον ὕπτιον ὑπεστόρεσται, ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους νοτίσι διηνεκῶς πιαινόμενον. ὕλη δὲ τούτῳ [8] αὐτομάτως περιφυεῖσα ποικίλων καὶ παντοδαπῶν δένδρων,

[1] Γρηγορίῳ ἑταίρῳ A, B, E. τῷ αὐτῷ C. τοῦ μακαρίου Βασιλείου ἐπισκόπου Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας πρὸς Γρηγόριον ἐπίσκοπον ναζαν * * * F.

[2] μέν τι: μέντοι C.

[3] με add. E, F.

[4] ὀκνηροτέρως A, B, C.

[5] λήξομαι C.

LETTER XIV

To Gregory, a friend [1]

Although brother Gregory wrote to me that he had long wished to visit us, and added that you had formed the same purpose, I was, on the one hand, so loth to trust you because you have often deceived me, and, on the other hand, so distracted by business that I could not delay my departure. For I was obliged to leave immediately for the Pontus, where some time soon, God willing, I shall cease my wandering. For after renouncing with difficulty those vain hopes which I had once placed in you—or rather, if I may use a truer word, my dreams (since I commend the man who said that hopes are waking men's dreams)—I departed for Pontus in search of a place of abode. There indeed God showed me a spot exactly suited to my taste, so that I really beheld just such a place as I have often been wont in idle reverie to fashion in my imagination.

There is a high mountain, covered with a thick forest, watered on its northerly side by cool and transparent streams. At its base is outstretched an evenly sloping plain, ever enriched by the moisture from the mountain. A forest of many-coloured and multifarious trees, a spontaneous growth surrounding

[1] Gregory of Nazianzus. Cf. Introd., pp. xvi, xxii. Written after the year 360, before he became presbyter. Cf. Newman's translation of this letter, *Church of the Fathers*, 126.

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[6] συμβαίνοντα C. [7] εἰώθειμεν C. [8] τούτων C.

μικροῦ δεῖν ἀντὶ ἕρκους αὐτῷ γίνεται, ὡς μικρὰν εἶναι πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Καλυψοῦς νῆσον, ἣν δὴ πασῶν πλέον Ὅμηρος εἰς κάλλος θαυμάσας φαίνεται. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πολὺ ἀποδεῖ τοῦ νῆσος εἶναι, ἕνεκά γε τοῦ πανταχόθεν[1] ἐρύμασι περιείργεσθαι· φάραγγες μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ βαθεῖαι κατὰ δύο μέρη περιερρώγασι, κατὰ πλευρὰν δὲ ἀπὸ κρημνοῦ ὁ ποταμὸς ὑπορρέων τεῖχός ἐστι καὶ αὐτὸς διηνεκὲς καὶ δυσέμβατον· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα τεταμένον εἶναι τὸ ὄρος δι' ἀγκώνων μηνοειδῶν ταῖς φάραγξιν ἐπιζευγνύμενον, τὰ βάσιμα τῆς ὑπωρείας ἀποτειχίζει. μία δέ τις[2] εἴσοδος ἐπ' αὐτῆς, ἧς ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν κύριοι. τήν γε μὴν οἴκησιν αὐχήν τις ἕτερος ὑποδέχεται, ὑψηλόν τινα ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας ἀνέχων τένοντα, ὥστε τὸ πεδίον ἐκ τούτου[3] ὑφηπλῶσθαι ταῖς ὄψεσι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετεώρου ἐξεῖναι καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν περιρρέοντα καθορᾶν, οὐκ ἐλάττονα τέρψιν, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖν, παρεχόμενον ἢ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἀμφιπόλεως τὸν Στρύμονα καταμανθάνουσιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ σχολαιοτέρῳ[4] τῷ ῥεύματι περιλιμνάζων, μικροῦ δεῖν[5] καὶ τὸ[6] ποταμὸς εἶναι ὑπὸ[7] τῆς ἡσυχίας ἀφῄρηται· ὁ δὲ ὀξύτατα ὧν ἐγὼ οἶδα ποταμῶν ῥέων βραχύ τι τῇ γείτονι πέτρᾳ παρατραχύνεται·[8] ἀφ'[9] ἧς ἀναχεόμενος εἰς δίνην βαθεῖαν περιει-

[1] παντόθεν C, E.
[2] τις om. E, F.
[3] τούτου F.
[4] σχολαίῳ C, F.
[5] μικροῦ δεῖ C.
[6] τοῦ C.
[7] ὑπὸ om. F.
[8] περιτραχύνεται A, C, D.
[9] ὑφ' C, F.

[1] The river Strymon (Struma) in Macedonia rises in Mt. Scomius, flows first S. and then S.E., passes through the

the place, acts almost as a hedge to enclose it, so that even Kalypso's isle, which Homer seems to have admired above all others for its beauty, is insignificant as compared with this. For it is, in fact, by no means far from being an island, since it is shut in on all sides by barriers. Two deep ravines break off abruptly on two sides, and on a third side, at the bottom of a cliff, the river which glides gently by forms a wall, being itself a continuous and impassable barrier; and since the mountain stretches along the fourth side, and is joined to the ravines through bending sides which take the shape of a crescent, the passes at the base are blocked off. However, there is one entrance here, and we are in control of it. Adjoining my dwelling is another neck of land, as it were, which supports at its summit a lofty ridge, so that from the former the plain below lies outspread before the eyes, and from the elevation we may gaze upon the encircling river, which in my mind at least furnishes no less pleasure than they receive who receive their first impression of the Strymon from Amphipolis.[1] For the latter, as it spreads out with its somewhat sluggish current to form the lake, almost ceases to be a river, by reason of the stillness of its waters; whereas the former, as it flows more swiftly than any other river I know, for a short space is roughened by the rock which borders upon it. As the river recoils from this rock, it coils itself into a

lake Presias, and immediately S. of Amphipolis, which it nearly encircles, falls into a bay of the Aegean Sea, called after it Strymonicus Sinus. Cf. Hes., *Th.* 339; Aesch., *Ag.* 192; Hdt. vii. 75; Thuc. ii. 96, iv. 108, v. 7; and Strabo, p. 323.

λεῖται, ὄψιν τε ἡδίστην[1] ἐμοὶ καὶ παντὶ θεατῇ παρεχόμενος, καὶ χρείαν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις αὐταρκεστάτην, ἰχθύων γε[2] πλῆθος ἀμύθητον ταῖς δίναις[3] ἐντρέφων.

Τί δεῖ λέγειν τὰς ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναπνοάς, ἢ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ αὔρας; τό γε μὴν τῶν ἀνθέων πλῆθος ἢ τῶν ᾠδικῶν ὀρνίθων ἄλλος μὲν ἄν τις θαυμάσειεν,[4] ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐ σχολὴ τούτοις προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν. ὃ δὲ μέγιστον εἰπεῖν ἔχομεν τοῦ χωρίου, ὅτι πρὸς πᾶσαν ὑπάρχον[5] καρπῶν φορὰν ἐπιτήδειον δι' εὐκαιρίαν τῆς θέσεως, ἥδιστον ἐμοὶ πάντων καρπῶν τὴν ἡσυχίαν τρέφει,[6] οὐ μόνον καθότι τῶν ἀστικῶν θορύβων ἀπήλλακται, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐδὲ ὁδίτην τινὰ παραπέμπει πλὴν τῶν κατὰ θήραν ἐπιμιγνυμένων ἡμῖν. πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς[7] ἄλλοις καὶ θηροτρόφος ἐστίν, οὐχὶ ἄρκτων ἢ λύκων τῶν ὑμετέρων (μὴ γένοιτο), ἀλλ' ἐλάφων ἀγέλας καὶ αἰγῶν ἀγρίων καὶ λαγωοὺς βόσκει, καὶ εἴ τι τούτοις ὅμοιον.

Ἆρ' οὖν οὐκ ἐνθυμῇ παρ' ὅσον ἦλθον κινδύνου ὁ μάταιος ἐγώ, τοιούτου χωρίου τὴν Τιβερίνην, τῆς οἰκουμένης τὸ βάραθρον, φιλονεικῶν ἀνταλλάξασθαι; πρὸς ὅπερ νῦν ἐπειγομένῳ συγγνώσῃ. πάντως γὰρ οὐδὲ Ἀλκμαίων Ἐχινάδας[8] εὑρὼν ἔτι τῆς πλάνης ἠνέσχετο.

[1] μεγίστην C, πασῶν add. E.
[2] τε MSS.
[3] περιειλούμενον add. E.
[4] ἐθαύμασεν E, F.
[5] ὑπουργίαν C.
[6] ἐκτρέφει E.
[7] αὐτοῖς A, B.
[8] νήσους E.

[1] The Tiberina was a district near Gregory's home at Nazianzus; cf. Greg. Naz., *Epp.* vi and vii.

deep whirlpool, furnishing me, and every spectator, with a most pleasant sight, and providing the natives of the region with complete independence as to food, since it nourishes in its eddies an innumerable multitude of fish.

Why need I mention the exhalations from the land, or the breezes from the river? Someone else might well marvel at the multitude of the flowers or of the song-birds; but I have not the leisure to turn my thoughts to these. The highest praise, however, which I can give to the place is that, although it is well adapted by its admirable situation to producing fruits of every kind, for me the most pleasing fruit it nourishes is tranquillity, not only because it is far removed from the disturbances of the city, but also because it attracts not even a wayfarer, except the guests who join me in hunting. For besides its other excellences it abounds in game, not those bears and wolves of yours (God forbid); but it feeds herds of deer and wild goats, hares, and animals like these.

Do you not therefore realize the risk that I in my folly but narrowly escaped taking, when I was eager to exchange such a spot for the Tiberina,[1] that pit of the whole world? You will forgive me for hastening, as I do now, to this place. For after all, not even Alcmaeon, after he had discovered the Echinades,[2] could endure to wander longer.

[2] Alcmaeon slew his mother; but the Erinnys, the avenger of matricide, drove him mad, allowing him no rest anywhere. He finally obtained relief in a land which was not under the rays of the sun when the matricide was committed. This land was the Echinades, islands at the mouth of the river Acheloüs, whose muddy stream is perpetually depositing new earth, and forming additional islands.

XV

Ἀρκαδίῳ κόμητι πριβατῶν

Ἔδωκαν μείζονα τὴν χάριν ἢ ἔλαβον οἱ πολῖται τῆς μητροπόλεως ἡμῶν, παρασχόμενοί μοι ἀφορμὴν τῶν πρὸς τὴν σὴν τιμιότητα γραμμάτων. αὐτοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἡ φιλανθρωπία, ἧς ἕνεκεν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἔλαβον παρ' ἡμῶν, καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἡμῶν[1] γραμμάτων ὑπῆρχε, διὰ τὴν συνήθη καὶ τὴν ἐκ φύσεως ἐνυπάρχουσάν σοι πρὸς πάντας ἡμερότητα.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν ἀφορμὴν τοῦ προσφθέγγεσθαί[2] σου τὴν ἀμίμητον καλοκἀγαθίαν μέγιστον κέρδος ἐθέμεθα, εὐχόμενοι τῷ ἁγίῳ Θεῷ προκόπτοντί σοι ἐν τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐαρεστήσει καὶ ἐπὶ μεῖζον τῆς περὶ σὲ περιφανείας αὐξανομένης, αὐτοί τε ἐπευφραίνεσθαι καὶ τοῖς εὐεργετουμένοις ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς ἐπιστασίας συνήδεσθαι· λαβεῖν δέ ποτε καὶ τοὺς ἐγχειρίζοντάς σοι τὰ γράμματα ἡμῶν ἡμέρως ἰδεῖν, καὶ ἀποπέμψασθαι μετὰ πάντων καὶ αὐτούς, ἀνυμνοῦντας τὴν σὴν πραότητα, ἀεὶ μαθόντας ὅτι οὐκ ἄχρηστος αὐτοῖς ἡ παρ' ἡμῶν πρεσβεία πρὸς τὴν ἀνυπέρβλητόν σου καλοκἀγαθίαν γεγένηται.

[1] ἡμετέρων C. [2] προσφθέγξασθαι C.

LETTER XV

To Arcadius, Imperial Treasurer[1]

The citizens of our home city conferred a greater favour than they received when they gave me the opportunity of writing a letter to your honour. For your good-will, to gain which they procured this letter from me, was theirs even before we wrote, by reason of that wonted and inborn kindness which you possess toward all.

We have counted it a very great advantage to have this opportunity of addressing your inimitable excellency, and we pray to the holy God that we may both ourselves continue to rejoice in your ever-increasing favour in His sight and in your ever-waxing distinction, and that we may also join in the happiness and pleasure of those who enjoy the benefits of your administration of your high office. We pray also that you may one day receive this our letter, and with kindness look upon those who deliver it to you, and that you may send them also back in possession of all they ask, singing the praises of your gentle courtesy, and with a lasting remembrance of our successful intercession on their behalf with your unsurpassed excellency.[2]

[1] Written during Basil's retirement in Pontus. The official addressed managed the enormous revenues of the fiscus and kept account of the privileges granted by the emperor.

[2] The Benedictine editors consider this last sentence impossible as it stands. The passage, however, seems entirely clear.

XVI

Πρὸς Εὐνόμιον τὸν αἱρετικόν [1]

Ὁ ἐφικτὴν εἶναι λέγων τῶν ὄντων τὴν εὕρεσιν, ὁδῷ τινὶ πάντως καὶ ἀκολουθίᾳ διὰ τῆς τῶν ὄντων γνώσεως παρέβαλεν [2] ἑαυτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν· καὶ τοῖς εὐλήπτοις τε καὶ μικροτέροις ἐγγυμνασθεὶς διὰ τῆς καταλήψεως, οὕτω καὶ εἰς [3] τὴν ἐπέκεινα πάσης ἐννοίας προήγαγεν ἑαυτὸν [4] καταληπτικὴν φαντασίαν.

Οὐκοῦν ὁ τὴν περὶ τῶν ὄντων εἴδησιν κατειληφέναι μεγαλαυχούμενος τὸ σμικρότατον τῶν προφαινομένων, ὅπως ἔχει φύσεως, ἑρμηνευσάτω, καὶ τίς ἡ τοῦ μύρμηκος φύσις, εἰπάτω· εἰ πνεύματι καὶ ἄσθματι συνέχεται αὐτοῦ ἡ ζωή· εἰ ὀστέοις τὸ σῶμα [5] διείληπται· εἰ νεύροις καὶ συνδέσμοις τὰς ἁρμονίας τετόνωται· εἰ μυῶν περιβολῇ καὶ ἀδένων ἡ τῶν νεύρων περικρατεῖται θέσις· εἰ τοῖς νωτιαίοις σπονδύλοις [6] ἐκ τοῦ βρέγματος ἐπὶ τὸ οὐραῖον ὁ μυελὸς συμπαρατείνεται· εἰ τῇ περιοχῇ τοῦ νευρώδους ὑμένος, τοῖς κινουμένοις μέλεσι τὴν ὁρμητικὴν ἐνδίδωσι δύναμιν· εἰ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ἧπαρ, καὶ τὸ χοληδόχον ἀγγεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἥπατος, νεφροί τε καὶ καρδία καὶ ἀρτηρίαι

[1] Sic E, F; Εὐνομίῳ A, B, D; πρὸς Εὐνόμιον αἱρετικὸν ὅτι μηδὲ τὴν τοῦ μύρμηκος φύσιν ἐπιστάμενος τὴν πάντα νοῦν ὑπερέχουσαν δύναμιν φυσιολογεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν C.

[2] προέβαλεν editi; παρέβαλεν A, B, C, D, E, F.

[3] πρὸς C, D.

[4] ἑαυτοῦ editi, sed ἑαυτὸν MSS.

[5] τῷ σώματι E.

[6] κονδύλοις C, D.

LETTER XVI

Against Eunomius, the heretic[1]

He, who says that the discovery of things actually existing is attainable, no doubt had some sort of method and procedure by means of which, through his apprehension of actually existing things, he has applied his own powers of reasoning: and, by first training himself to apprehend the insignificant and easily comprehensible, he has advanced his apprehensive faculty to the apprehension of that which is beyond all intelligence.

Now then let him who boasts of having apprehended the knowledge of things actually existing interpret the nature of the most insignificant of phenomena. For instance, let him tell what is the nature of the ant. Is its life sustained by respiration and breath? Is its body provided with a system of bones? Are its joints kept taut by sinews and ligaments? Is the position of the sinews under the control of a covering of muscles and glands? Is its marrow stretched along the dorsal vertebrae from brow to tail? Is it by means of its envelope of sinewy membrane that the marrow gives to the movable members the power of propulsion? Does it possess a liver, a gall-bladder near the liver, kidneys, a heart, arteries, veins,

[1] The bishop of Cyzicus, against whose *Liber Apologeticus* Basil wrote his *Adversus Eunomium*. This letter, however, is not one of Basil's, but a portion of Gregory of Nyssa's work *Against Eunomius*, 10 (Migne, *P.G.* 45, 828). Cf. Fr. Diekamp, Ein angeblicher Brief des heilig. Basilius gegen Eunomius: *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 77, 1895, 277–285.

καὶ φλέβες, ὑμένες καὶ διαφράγματα· εἰ ψιλόν ἐστιν, ἢ τετρίχωται· εἰ[1] μονώνυχόν ἐστιν, ἢ πολυσχιδεῖς ἔχει τὰς βάσεις· πόσον δὲ βιοῖ τὸν χρόνον, καὶ τίς αὐτοῖς ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἐξ ἀλλήλων γεννήσεως· ἐπὶ πόσον δὲ κυΐσκεται τὸ τικτόμενον· καὶ πῶς οὔτε πεζοὶ πάντες οἱ μύρμηκες, οὔτε ὑπόπτεροι πάντες, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν[2] τῶν χαμαὶ ἐρχομένων εἰσίν, οἱ δὲ διαέριοι φέρονται.

Ὁ τοίνυν τῶν ὄντων τὴν γνῶσιν ἐπικομπάζων, τέως τὴν τοῦ μύρμηκος φύσιν εἰπάτω· εἶθ' οὕτω φυσιολογείτω τὴν πάντα νοῦν ὑπερέχουσαν δύναμιν. εἰ δὲ τοῦ βραχυτάτου μύρμηκος οὔπω περιέλαβες τῇ γνώσει τὴν φύσιν, πῶς τὴν ἀκατάληπτον τοῦ Θεοῦ δύναμιν μεγαλαυχεῖς φαντάζεσθαι;

XVII

Ὠριγένει

Καὶ ἀκουόμενος εὐφραίνεις, καὶ ἀναγινωσκόμενος δι' ὧν γράφεις ἐνεργεστέρας[3] ἡμῖν παρέχεις εὐφροσύνας. καὶ χάρις πολλὴ τῷ ἀγαθῷ Θεῷ, τῷ μηδὲν ἐλαττωθῆναι ποιήσαντι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν τῇ προδοσίᾳ τῶν δῆθεν ὑπερκρατούντων, ἀλλὰ δι' ὑμῶν[4] τὴν συνηγορίαν τοῦ λόγου τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀναπληρώσαντι. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν, ὡς τὸ κώνειον ἢ τὸ ἀκόνιτον, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλη ἀνδροφόνος βοτάνη, πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀνθήσαντες ταχὺ ἀποξηραν-

[1] εἰ om. A, B, F.
[2] ἀπὸ add. C, D.
[3] ἐναργεστέρας A, B, F.
[4] ἡμῶν E, F.

membranes, and cartilage? Is it smooth-skinned, or covered with hair? Has it an uncloven hoof, or are its feet divided into toes? How long does it live? How does it reproduce its kind? How long is the fetus carried in the womb? How is it that ants neither all walk, nor all fly, but some belong to the things that move upon the ground, while others travel through the air?

Let him, therefore, who boasts the knowledge of actually existing things, first tell us of the nature of the ant. Then and not till then may he investigate the nature of the power which surpasses all understanding. If, however, you have not yet comprehended the nature of the smallest ant by knowledge, how can you boast that the incomprehensible power of God is apparent to you?

LETTER XVII

To Origen [1]

It is a delight to listen to you, and to read your works affords us a still more lively pleasure. Abundant thanks to the good God, who has not allowed the truth to succumb to the treachery of those who claim, forsooth, to prevail, but has furnished through you an advocacy of the doctrine of the true religion! They, however, like hemlock or aconite and every other deadly herb, after a brief

[1] This letter, written during the reign of Julian, is the sole source for our information about this Origen. It is conjectured that he was a layman, who, alike as a rhetorician and a writer, was popularly known as a Christian apologist.

θήσονται. ὑμῖν δὲ ἀνθηρὸν καὶ ἀεὶ νέον ὁ Κύριος *τὸν μισθὸν τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ λαληθέντων παρέξει.*

Ἀνθ᾽ ὧν καὶ παράσχοι ὑμῖν[1] *ὁ* Κύριος[2] *πᾶσαν εὐθηνίαν οἴκου, καὶ εἰς παῖδας παίδων τὴν εὐλογίαν διαβιβάσαι. τὰ δὲ εὐγενέστατα παιδία, τοὺς ἐναργεῖς τῆς σῆς χρηστότητος χαρακτῆρας, εἶδον ἡδέως καὶ περιεπτυξάμην, καὶ εὔχομαι αὐτοῖς ὅσα ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ εὔξῃ.*

XVIII

Μακαρίῳ *καὶ* Ἰωάννῃ[3]

Οὔτε *γεωργοὺς οἱ κατὰ γεωργίαν ξενίζουσι πόνοι, οὔτε ναύταις ὁ κατὰ θάλασσαν χειμὼν ἀπροσδόκητος, οὔτε τοῖς μισθαρνοῦσιν ὁ*[4] *ἱδρὼς παράδοξος, οὔτε μὴν τοῖς εὐσεβῶς ζῆν ἑλομένοις αἱ κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα κόσμον θλίψεις ἀμελέτητοι.*[5] *ἀλλ᾽ ἑκάστῳ τῶν εἰρημένων οἰκεῖος καὶ γνώριμος τοῖς μετιοῦσι*[6] *συνέζευκται πόνος, οὐ δι᾽ ἑαυτὸν αἱρετός, ἀλλὰ δι᾽ ἀπόλαυσιν ἀγαθῶν προσδοκωμένων. ἐλπίδες γάρ, πάντα τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων συνέχουσαι καὶ συγκροτοῦσαι βίον, τὴν ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστῳ τούτων παραμυθοῦνται δυσκολίαν.*

Τῶν *μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ γῆς καρπῶν ἢ τῶν κατὰ γῆν πονούντων, οἱ μὲν παντάπασιν ἐψεύσθησαν*

[1] *ἡμῖν* E. [2] *ὁ Κύριος* om. C, D, E.

[3] *Μακαρίῳ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ* E, F. *Μακαρίῳ* A, B, F. *Μακρίνῳ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ ὥστε μηδὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς διαβολαῖς ταράσσεσθαι* C, D.

[4] *θερινὸς* om. E, sed non alia MSS.

[5] *ἡ . . . θλίψις ἀμελέτητος* A, B, C, D, F.

period of bloom will quickly wither.[1] But as for you, the Lord will bless you with endless youth and bloom as your reward for your defence of His name.

Wherefore may the Lord also grant you all well-being at home, and may His blessings pass on to your children's children. I was delighted to see and embrace your noble children, express images of your own goodness, and in my prayers I invoke as many blessings for them as you their father can invoke.

LETTER XVIII

To Macarius and John[2]

The labours of the farm do not seem strange to the farmer; the storm at sea is not unexpected by the sailor; sweat causes no wonder to the hired labourer; and so to those who have chosen to live the life of piety the afflictions of this world are not unforeseen. Nay, to each of the aforesaid is joined a labour that is appropriate and well known to those who share it—a labour which is not chosen for its own sake, but for the enjoyment of expected blessings. For hopes, which hold and weld together man's entire life, give consolation for the hardships which fall to the lot of each of these.

Now of those who labour for the fruits of the earth or for earthly things, some are completely

[1] The heretics will not prevail in the end, he says, however successful they may be now.

[2] Probably written in the reign of Julian. Note the MS. variations of the former of the two names addressed.

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[6] τοῖς μετιοῦσι om. A, B, C, D, F.

τῶν ἐλπίδων, μέχρι μόνης φαντασίας τῶν προσδοκωμένων[1] τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἔχοντες, οἷς δὲ καὶ κατὰ γνώμην ἐκβῆναι συνέβη τὸ τέλος, δευτέρας ἐδέησε πάλιν ἐλπίδος, παραδραμούσης καὶ μαρανθείσης ἐν[2] τάχει τῆς προτέρας. μόνοις δὲ τοῖς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας καμοῦσιν οὐ ψεῦδος ἠφάνισε[3] τὰς ἐλπίδας, οὐ τέλος ἐλυμήνατο τοὺς ἄθλους,[4] βεβαίας καὶ μονίμου διαδεχομένης τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας.

Μὴ τοίνυν ὑμᾶς ταραττέτω διαβολὴ ψευδής, μηδὲ φοβείτω τῶν κρατούντων ἀπειλή· μὴ γέλως λυπείτω καὶ ὕβρις τῶν γνωρίμων, μηδὲ κατάγνωσις παρὰ τῶν κήδεσθαι προσποιουμένων, ἰσχυρότατον πρὸς ἀπάτην δέλεαρ προβαλλομένων[5] παραινέσεως προσποίησιν,[6] ἕως ἂν ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας ἡμῖν συναγωνίζηται λόγος. ἀντιμαχέσθω δὲ τοῖς πᾶσι λογισμὸς ὀρθός, σύμμαχον παρακαλῶν γενέσθαι καὶ βοηθὸν[7] αὐτῷ τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας διδάσκαλον τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, δι᾿ ὃν καὶ τὸ κακοπαθεῖν ἡδὺ καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος.

XIX

Γρηγορίῳ ἑταίρῳ[8]

Γράμμα ἦλθέ μοι πρῴην παρὰ σοῦ, ἀκριβῶς σόν, οὐ τοσοῦτον τῷ χαρακτῆρι τῆς χειρός, ὅσον

[1] τῶν προσδοκωμένων om. F. [2] ἐν om. E.
[3] παρηφάνισε E. [4] τοῖς ἄθλοις A, B, C, D, F.
[5] ἰσχυρότατον . . . προβαλλομένων om. A, B, F.
[6] προσποιήσει A, B.
[7] παρακαλῶν . . . βοηθὸν om. A, B, C, D, F.

deluded of their hopes, in that they have this enjoyment of expected things merely in phantasy; while others, for whom the result has by chance been as they wished, are in need of a second hope, since the first has speedily gone past them and withered away. Only for those who toil for piety's sake has no delusion blasted their hopes, no result spoiled the rewards, for the kingdom of heaven, firm and enduring, receives them.

Therefore, so long as the word of truth is on our side, let no false slander disturb you, no threat of the powerful terrify you; let not the ridicule and insults of your acquaintances offend you, nor yet the condemnation of those who pretend to care for you and who offer you deceit's most potent lure—the pretence of giving advice. Against them all let right reason give battle, summoning to be its ally and helper the teacher of piety, our Lord Jesus Christ, for whom to suffer is a delight and "to die is gain." [1]

LETTER XIX

To Gregory, a friend [2]

The day before yesterday a letter came to me from you. It was indeed strictly yours, not so much

[1] Phil. 1, 21.

[2] This letter to Gregory of Nazianzus was probably written at Caesarea, shortly after Basil had been made a presbyter. Cf. Letter XIV and Introd., p. xxii.

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[8] Sic E; τῷ αὐτῷ A, B; τῷ αὐτῷ ἀπολογία διότι ἐπιστείλαντι εὐθὺς οὐκ ἀντέγραψεν C, D.

τῷ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἰδιώματι. ὀλίγα γὰρ ἦν τὰ ῥήματα πολλὴν διάνοιαν παριστῶντα. πρὸς ἃ εὐθὺς μὲν οὐκ ἀπεκρινάμεθα, διότι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀπεδημοῦμεν, ὁ δὲ γραμματηφόρος[1] ἐνὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἡμῖν ἐπιδοὺς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπίων ᾤχετο. ἀλλὰ νῦν διὰ Πέτρου προσφθεγγόμεθά σε, ὁμοῦ μὲν ἀποτίνυντες τῆς προσηγορίας τὸ χρέος, ὁμοῦ δὲ ἀφορμὴν δευτέρων γραμμάτων παρέχοντες. πάντως δὲ οὐδεὶς πόνος Λακωνικῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ὁποῖαί εἰσιν αἱ παρὰ σοῦ ἑκάστοτε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφικνούμεναι.

XX

Λεοντίῳ σοφιστῇ

Χρόνια μέν σοι καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν γράμματα, οὐ μὴν χρονιώτερα τῶν αὐτόθεν, καὶ ταῦτα πολλῶν καὶ συνεχῶν ἐπιδημησάντων ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας· οἷς εἰ πᾶσιν ἐφεξῆς γράμματα ἐπετίθης,[2] οὐδὲν ἦν τὸ κώλυον αὐτῷ σοι δοκεῖν συνεῖναι ἡμᾶς καὶ οἱονεὶ παρόντας καὶ συνόντας ἀπολαύειν· οὕτω συνεχὲς ἦν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφικνουμένων.

'Αλλὰ τί οὐκ ἐπιστέλλεις; καίτοιγε οὐδὲν ἔργον σοφιστῇ, ἢ τὸ γράφειν· μᾶλλον δὲ εἰ καὶ τῆς χειρὸς ἔχεις ἀργῶς, οὐδὲ γράφειν δεήσει, ἄλλος γάρ σοι διακονήσει. γλώττης δὲ χρεία μόνης· ἣ κἂν ἡμῖν μὴ διαλέγηται, ἀλλ' ἑνί γε πάντως τῶν συνόντων λαλήσει, κἂν μηδεὶς παρῇ,

[1] Sic A, B, C, D, E; γραμματοφόρος editi.
[2] ἐπιτίθεις C, D, E.

in handwriting as in the letter's peculiar quality. For though the sentences were few they offered much thought. I did not answer it immediately, because I myself was away from home, and the letter-carrier departed straightway as soon as he had handed the letter to one of my friends. We now through Peter salute you, and thereby at the same time fulfil my obligation to send greetings, and furnish you with another opportunity of writing. Surely no trouble is involved in writing a Laconic note, such as the letters which come to me from you invariably are.

LETTER XX

To the sophist Leontius [1]

Our letters to you are far between, yet no more so than yours to us, in spite of the fact that many people are ever journeying hither from your land. If you had entrusted a letter to each one of these in turn, there would have been nothing to prevent my imagining myself in your very company and enjoying you as though I were present with you; so continuous has been the number of arrivals here.

But why do you not write? Surely a sophist has nothing to do but write; or rather, if your hand is slothful, you need not even write, for someone else will do it for you. The only requirement is a tongue. If this does not converse with us, it will surely talk with one of your pupils, and if no pupil

[1] Written in 364. Basil refers to a Leontius in Letter XXXV.

ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς διαλέξεται· σιωπήσει δὲ οὐδαμῶς, σοφιστική τε[1] οὖσα καὶ Ἀττική, οὐ μᾶλλόν γε ἢ αἱ ἀηδόνες, ὅταν τὸ ἔαρ αὐτὰς πρὸς ᾠδὴν ἀναστήσῃ.

Ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ τὸ πυκνὸν τῆς ἀσχολίας τοῦτο ἐν ᾧ νῦν ἐσμὲν κἂν παραίτησιν ἐνέγκοι τυχὸν πρὸς τὴν ἔνδειαν τῶν γραμμάτων·[2] καὶ τὸ οἱονεὶ ἐρρυπῶσθαι λοιπὸν τῇ κατακορεῖ συνηθείᾳ[3] πρὸς ἰδιωτισμὸν ὄκνον εἰκότως ἐμποιεῖ προσφθέγγεσθαι ὑμᾶς τοὺς σοφιστάς, οἵ, εἰ μή τι ἄξιον τῆς ὑμετέρας αὐτῶν σοφίας ἀκούσεσθε, δυσχερανεῖτε καὶ οὐκ ἀνέξεσθε. σὲ δέ που τὸ ἐναντίον εἰκὸς ἐπὶ πάσης προφάσεως δημοσιεύειν σαυτοῦ[4] τὴν φωνήν, ἐπιτήδειον ὄντα εἰπεῖν ὧν αὐτὸς οἶδα Ἑλλήνων. οἶδα γάρ, ὡς οἶμαι, τοὺς ὀνομαστοτάτους τῶν ἐν ὑμῖν.[5] ὥστε οὐδεμία παραίτησις σιωπῶντι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς τοσοῦτον.

Ἀπέστειλα δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς Εὐνόμιον·[1] ἃ εἴτε παιδιὰν χρὴ καλεῖν, εἴτε μικρῷ παιδιᾶς σπουδαιότερα, αὐτῷ σοι κρίνειν παρίημι· ὃς[6] πρὸς μὲν τὰ οἰκεῖα σαυτοῦ οὐκέτι, οἶμαι, χρῄζεις, πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἐνδιαστρόφων τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας οὐκ ἀγεννές σοι ὅπλον ἔσεσθαι προσδοκῶ· οὐ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ συντάγματος καταπιστεύοντες τοσοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς γνωρίζοντες ἀπὸ ὀλίγων ἀφορμῶν ἐπὶ πολλά σε ὄντα εὑρετικόν. ἐὰν δέ τι σοὶ καὶ ἀσθενέστερον ἔχειν τῆς χρείας κατα-

[1] γε A, B. [2] Sic MSS.; πραγμάτων Ed. Ben.
[3] κατακορεῖ συνηθείᾳ] κατακορίᾳ A, B, C, D.
[4] αὐτοῦ B. [5] ἡμῖν A, B. [6] ὅσον E.

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[1] A dogmatic work in three books, "Refutation of the Apologetic of the impious Eunomius" (Ἀνατρεπτικὸς τοῦ

is at hand, it will go on conversing by itself. But in no event will it be silent, being both sophistic and Attic, any more than the nightingale when spring stirs it to song.

In our case the mass of business in which we are now engaged might perhaps afford some excuse for our failure to write. Besides, the stain, as it were, that I have taken on by my tiresome association with the vulgar makes me naturally reluctant to address you sophists, who will become vexed and impatient unless you hear something worthy of your own wisdom. You, I suppose, on the other hand, will naturally accept every pretext to publish your words abroad, since of all the Greeks whom I know you are the best fitted to speak. And I know, I think, the most celebrated men among you. There is then no excuse for your silence. But I have said enough on this subject.

I have sent you also my work against Eunomius.[1] Whether we should call this child's play or something a little more serious than child's play, I leave you to judge. You yourself, I imagine, are no longer in need of the book for your own enlightenment, but against such of the perverse as read it, I believe you will find it no mean weapon; it is not so much that I feel confidence in the potency of my essay, but rather that I am keenly aware that you have the ingenuity to go far with scanty resources.[2] But if any argument strikes you as

ἀπολογητικοῦ τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς Εὐνομίου), composed in 363 or 364. In the year 360 Eunomius had been deprived of his episcopate in Cyzicus because of his Arian views.

[2] *I.e.* he can make much of the argument which Basil advances in the book in question.

φανῇ, μὴ κατοκνήσῃς ἐλέγξαι. τούτῳ[1] *γὰρ μάλιστα φίλος κόλακος διενήνοχε, τῷ τὸν μὲν πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὁμιλεῖν, τὸν δὲ μηδὲ*[2] *τῶν λυπούντων ἀπέχεσθαι.*

XXI

Λεοντίῳ σοφιστῇ

Ἔοικέ τι τῆς κοινῆς καταστάσεως καὶ εἰς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πράγματα ὁ χρηστὸς Ἰουλιανὸς ἀπολαύειν. ἀπαιτεῖται γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἐγκαλεῖται σφοδρῶς, ἐπειδὴ πάντα νῦν ἀπαιτουμένων καὶ ἐγκαλουμένων γέμει. πλὴν ὅσον οὐχὶ εἰσφορῶν ἐλλείμματα, ἀλλ' ἐπιστολῶν. καίτοι[3] *πόθεν αὐτῷ ἐλλέλειπται ἀγνοῶ· ἔδωκε γὰρ ἀεὶ ἐπιστολήν, τὴν δὲ ἐκομίσατο. εἰ μή τί που καὶ παρὰ σοὶ*[4] *ἡ πολυθρύλλητος αὐτὴ τετραπλῆ προτετίμηται. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ Πυθαγόριοι τοσοῦτον προετίμησαν τὴν τετρακτύν, ὅσον οἱ νῦν ἐκλέγοντες τὰ δημόσια τὴν τετραπλῆν. καίτοιγε ἴσως τὸ ἐναντίον εἰκὸς ἦν, σοφιστὴν ὄντα καὶ εὐποροῦντα λόγων τοσούτων, αὐτὸν ἡμῖν εἰς τὴν*

1 *τούτῳ*] *ἐν τούτῳ* E.
2 *μήτε* A, B, C, D.
3 *καὶ τὸ* E, F.
4 *σοῦ* C, D.

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1 For this sentiment, oft-repeated, see Plutarch, *πῶς ἄν τις διακρίνειε τὸν κόλακα τοῦ φίλου* (How one should distinguish a flatterer from a friend).

2 Written in the year 364. A very puzzling letter unless Leontius is identified with "the good Julian." Julian or Leontius has written to complain of Basil's not answering his letters; and this is Basil's reply. Cf. Letter CCXCIII.

weaker than it should be, do not hesitate to criticize. For herein especially does a friend differ from a flatterer; the flatterer speaks to give pleasure, but the friend refrains from nothing, even that which gives pain.[1]

LETTER XXI

To the sophist Leontius[2]

The good Julian seems to take advantage of the general situation with reference to his own affairs. For he too keeps demanding payment and making vehement accusations, at this time when all the world is teeming with men who demand payment and make accusations; but in his case it is not for default in taxes but in letters. Yet how it comes that he has suffered any default I do not know; for invariably he has only bestowed a letter after he has already received one. Unless it be, perchance, that you too have a preference for the much-talked-of "fourfold."[3] For not even the Pythagoreans clung so tenaciously to their "quaternion,"[4] as the tax-collectors of to-day do to their "fourfold"! And yet perhaps the opposite would be the only fair arrangement—that you, who are a sophist and so well supplied with words in that amount, should

[3] According to the Benedictine note this refers to no regular tax, but to a punishment for unpaid taxes, demanding four times the ordinary amount. Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, xxvi. 6.

[4] The term applied by the Pythagoreans to the sum of the first four numbers, one, two, three, and four—the numbers applied respectively to the point, the line, the surface, and the solid, and considered by them to be the root of all creation.

τῶν τετραπλασίων ἔκτισιν ὑποκεῖσθαι. καὶ μὴ οἴου ταῦτα δυσχεραίνοντας ἡμᾶς γράφειν. χαίρω γάρ σου καὶ ταῖς μέμψεσιν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς καλοῖς φασὶ πάντα μετὰ τῆς τοῦ καλοῦ προσθήκης γίνεσθαι· ὥστε καὶ λύπας αὐτοῖς καὶ ὀργὰς ἐπιπρέπειν.[1] ἥδιον γοῦν ἄν τις ἴδοι ὀργιζόμενον τὸν ἀγαπώμενον, ἢ θεραπεύοντα ἕτερον. μήποτε οὖν ἀνῇς ἐγκαλῶν τοιαῦτα. γράμματα γάρ που ἔσται αὐτὰ τὰ ἐγκλήματα,[2] ὧν ἐμοὶ οὐδὲν ἄκουσμα τιμιώτερον, οὐδὲ πλείονα φέρον τὴν ἡδονήν.

XXII

Περὶ τελειότητος βίου μοναχῶν[3]

Πολλῶν ὄντων τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς θεοπνεύστου Γραφῆς δηλουμένων τῶν κατορθοῦσθαι ὀφειλόντων τοῖς ἐσπουδακόσιν εὐαρεστῆσαι τῷ Θεῷ, περὶ μόνων τέως τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος κινηθέντων παρ' ὑμῖν, ὡς ἔμαθον ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς θεοπνεύστου Γραφῆς, ἐν συντόμῳ ὑπομνήσει εἰπεῖν[4] ἀναγκαίως[5] προεθυμήθην, τὴν περὶ ἑκάστου μαρτυρίαν εὔληπτον οὖσαν καταλείψας ἐπιγινώσκειν

[1] ἐπιτρέπειν C, D, F.
[2] γάρ που . . . ἐγκλήματα om. A, B.
[3] ἀνεπίγραφος, κανὼν ἀκριβὴς τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀσκητικῆς πολιτείας C D.
[4] εἰπεῖν om. C, D, E.
[5] ἀναγκαίως om. C, D.

yourself be liable to us for the payment of the "fourfold." Now do not think that we write these words with any ill-feeling. For I delight even in your censures, because, as they say, "Every act of the beautiful carries with it a bit of beauty added," and consequently outbursts of both grief and anger become them. At any rate one would rather see a beloved friend indulge in anger than anyone else in flattery. Do not then cease making charges like the last. For these very accusations will probably take the form of letters, than which nothing is more valued by me and nothing brings me greater pleasure.

LETTER XXII

Without address; on the Perfection of the Monastic Life[1]

Since in the divinely inspired Scriptures many directions are set forth which must be strictly observed by all who earnestly wish to please God, I desire to say, necessarily in the form of a brief reminder, a few words based upon the knowledge which I have derived from the divinely inspired Scriptures themselves, regarding for the present merely those questions which have at this present time been stirred up among you. By so doing I shall leave behind me, in a form easy to apprehend, their testimony on every point for those to observe

[1] Probably written in 364. This letter is an excellent illustration of the fact that St. Basil based his conception of the religious life entirely upon the Holy Writ. It is to be noted that Basil here identifies the monastic life with the ideal Christian life. Cf. Introd. p. xix.

τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν ἀπασχολουμένοις, οἵτινες ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται καὶ ἑτέρους ὑπομιμνήσκειν.[1]

Ὅτι δεῖ τὸν Χριστιανὸν ἄξια τῆς ἐπουρανίου κλήσεως[2] φρονεῖν, καὶ ἀξίως τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Χριστοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ τὸν Χριστιανὸν μετεωρίζεσθαι, οὐδὲ ἀφέλκεσθαι ὑπό τινος ἀπὸ τῆς μνήμης τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ θελημάτων καὶ κριμάτων. ὅτι δεῖ τὸν Χριστιανόν, κρείττονα τῶν κατὰ τὸν νόμον δικαιωμάτων γενόμενον ἐν πᾶσι, μήτε ὀμνύειν μήτε ψεύδεσθαι. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ βλασφημεῖν· ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ὑβρίζειν. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ μάχεσθαι· ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἑαυτὸν ἐκδικεῖν· ὅτι οὐ δεῖ κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἀποδιδόναι· ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ὀργίζεσθαι. ὅτι δεῖ μακροθυμεῖν πᾶν[3] ὁτιοῦν πάσχοντα, καὶ ἐλέγχειν εὐκαίρως τὸν ἀδικοῦντα, οὐ μὴν ἐν πάθει τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐκδικήσεως, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ διορθώσεως, κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ Κυρίου. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ κατὰ ἀπόντος ἀδελφοῦ λέγειν τι σκοπῷ τοῦ διαβάλλειν αὐτόν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ καταλαλία, κἂν ἀληθῆ ᾖ τὰ λεγόμενα. ὅτι δεῖ τὸν καταλαλοῦντα ἀδελφοῦ ἀποστρέφεσθαι.

Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ εὐτράπελα φθέγγεσθαι. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ γελᾷν οὐδὲ γελοιαστῶν ἀνέχεσθαι. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἀργολογεῖν, λαλοῦντά τι ὃ μήτε πρὸς ὠφέλειαν τῶν ἀκουόντων ἐστὶ μήτε πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν

[1] ἅτινα ἐστὶ ταῦτα add. C, D. [2] κληρονομίας C, D. [3] πάντοτε C, D.

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[1] Heb. 3. 1. [2] Phil. 1. 27. [3] Luke 12. 29.
[4] Matt. 5. 20. [5] Titus 3. 2. [6] 1 Tim. 2. 13.
[7] 2 Tim. 2. 24. [8] Rom. 12. 19. [9] Rom. 12. 17.
[10] Matt. 5. 22. [11] James 5. 8. [12] Titus 2. 15.

who are too much occupied for reading; these will then be competent to recall the truth to others.

The Christian ought to think thoughts worthy of his heavenly vocation,[1] and conduct himself worthily of the Gospel of Christ.[2] The Christian should not be frivolous[3] or easily drawn away by anything from the remembrance of God and from His will and judgments. The Christian, being in all things superior to the ordinances of the law, should neither swear nor lie.[4] He ought not to speak evil,[5] to insult,[6] wrangle,[7] revenge himself,[8] render evil for evil[9] or get angry.[10] He should be long-suffering,[11] should endure to suffer anything whatever, and should rebuke an offender in due season,[12] not with a feeling for personal vengeance, but with a desire for his brother's correction,[13] according to the commandment of the Lord. The Christian should say nothing behind a brother's back with the purpose of slandering him, for it is slander in any case, even if what is said is true.[14] He ought to turn away from him who practises slander against a brother.[15]

The Christian ought not to speak in a light vein.[16] He ought not to make merry or tolerate merry-makers.[17] He must not talk idly, prattling of things which neither conduce to the benefit of his listeners

[13] Matt. 15. 18. [14] 2 Cor. 12. 20, and 1 Peter 2. 1.
[15] 1 Peter 8. 16–17, and James 4. 11. [16] Eph. 5. 4.
[17] "This charge is probably founded on Luke 6. 21 and 25, and James 4. 9. Yet our Lord's promise that they who hunger and weep 'shall laugh,' admits of fulfilment in the kingdom of God on earth. Cheerfulness is a note of the Church, whose members, if sorrowful, are yet always rejoicing. (2 Cor. 6. 10)." Jackson.

καὶ συγκεχωρημένην ἡμῖν ὑπὸ[1] τοῦ Θεοῦ χρείαν· ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐργαζομένους σπουδάζειν καθ' ὅσον δυνατὸν μετὰ ἡσυχίας ἐργάζεσθαι, καὶ αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς λόγους πρὸς ἐκείνους κινεῖν, τοὺς πεπιστευμένους μετὰ δοκιμασίας οἰκονομεῖν τὸν λόγον πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν τῆς πίστεως, ἵνα μὴ λυπῆται τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ Θεοῦ. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ τῶν ἐπεισερχομένων τινὰ ἐπ' ἐξουσίας[2] ἐγγίζειν ἢ λαλεῖν τινὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, πρὶν ἂν οἱ ἐπιτεταγμένοι τὴν φροντίδα τῆς ἐν πᾶσιν εὐταξίας δοκιμάσωσι πῶς ἀρέσκει Θεῷ πρὸς τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ οἴνῳ δεδουλῶσθαι, οὔτε περὶ κρέα ἐμπαθῶς ἔχειν, καὶ καθόλου περὶ οὐδὲν βρῶμα ἢ πόμα φιλήδονον εἶναι· ὁ γὰρ ἀγωνιζόμενος πάντα ἐγκρατεύεται. ὅτι τῶν διδομένων ἑκάστῳ εἰς χρῆσιν οὐδὲν ὡς ἴδιον ἔχειν δεῖ ἢ ταμιεύεσθαι· ἐν μέντοι τῇ φροντίδι πᾶσιν ὡς δεσποτικοῖς προσέχοντα, μηδὲν τῶν παραῤῥιπτομένων ἢ ἀμελουμένων, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, παρορᾷν. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ οὔτε αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ κύριον εἶναί τινα, ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ παραδεδομένον εἰς δουλείαν τοῖς ὁμοψύχοις ἀδελφοῖς,[3] οὕτω καὶ φρονεῖν πάντα καὶ ποιεῖν, ἕκαστον δὲ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι.

Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ γογγύζειν, οὔτε ἐν τῇ στενοχωρίᾳ τῶν πρὸς τὴν χρείαν οὔτε ἐν τῷ καμάτῳ τῶν ἔργων, ἐχόντων τὸ κρίμα περὶ ἑκάστου τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων τὴν τούτων ἐξουσίαν. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ κραυγὴν γίνεσθαι, οὔτε ἄλλο τι σχῆμα ἢ κίνημα

[1] ἡμῖν ὑπὸ om. E. [2] ἔχειν add. C, D. [3] ἀδελφοῖς om. C, D.

[1] Eph. 5. 4. [2] 1 Peter 4. 3. [3] Rom. 14. 21.

nor to the activities that are indispensable and permitted us by God;[1] so that both the workers may as far as possible have silence in which to apply themselves zealously to their work, and that they themselves, who have been entrusted after trial with the dispensation of the word for the upbuilding of the faith, may speak only good words to the workers, lest God's Holy Spirit be grieved. No one of those who enter into positions of authority should approach or speak with one of the brothers, before those charged with the general discipline shall examine how this is pleasing to God, with an eye to the common good. The Christian ought not to be a slave to wine,[2] nor fond of meat,[3] nor in general to find pleasure in food or drink;[4] for "everyone that striveth for the mastery refraineth himself from all things."[5] He ought not to hold or store up as his own what is given to all for their own use;[6] but he should take heed for all things carefully as belonging to the Master, and permit nothing that is thrown aside or, if this should be the case, neglected, to pass unseen. He should not consider himself as his own master, but as having been delivered by God into servitude to his brethren of like spirit, so he should always think and act;[7] "but everyone in his own order."[8]

The Christian should not grumble,[9] either at the scarcity of his necessities or at the labour of his tasks, for those charged with authority in these matters have final decision over each thing. There should be no clamour, or any scene or commotion

[4] 2 Tim. 3. 4. [5] 1 Cor. 9. 25. [6] Acts 4. 32.
[7] 1 Cor. 9. 19. [8] 1 Cor. 15. 23. [9] 1 Cor. 10. 10.

ἐν ᾧ χαρακτηρίζεται θυμός, ἢ μετεωρισμὸς ἀπὸ τῆς πληροφορίας τοῦ παρεῖναι τὸν Θεόν. ὅτι δεῖ τῇ χρείᾳ συμμετρεῖν τὴν φωνήν. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ θρασέως[1] ἢ καταφρονητικῶς τινὶ ἀποκρίνεσθαι ἢ ποιεῖν τι, ἀλλ' ἐν πᾶσι τὸ ἐπιεικὲς καὶ τὸ τιμητικὸν πρὸς πάντας δεικνύειν. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐννεύειν ὀφθαλμῷ μετὰ δόλου, ἢ ἄλλῳ τινὶ σχήματι ἢ κινήματι μέλους κεχρῆσθαι, ὃ λυπεῖ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἢ καταφρόνησιν ἐμφαίνει.

Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ καλλωπίζεσθαι ἐν ἱματίοις ἢ ὑποδήμασιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ περπερεία. ὅτι δεῖ εὐτελέσι κεχρῆσθαι τοῖς πρὸς τὴν χρείαν τοῦ σώματος. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ὑπὲρ τὴν χρείαν[2] καὶ[3] πρὸς δαψίλειαν ἀναλίσκειν οὐδέν,[4] ὅπερ ἐστὶ παράχρησις. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ τιμὴν ἐπιζητεῖν, ἢ πρωτείων ἀντιποιεῖσθαι. ὅτι δεῖ ἕκαστον προτιμᾷν[5] ἑαυτοῦ[6] πάντας. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἀνυπότακτον εἶναι. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἀργὸν ἐσθίειν τὸν ἐργάζεσθαι δυνάμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἀσχολούμενον περί τι τῶν κατορθουμένων εἰς δόξαν Χριστοῦ[7] ἐκβιάζεσθαι ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν σπουδὴν τοῦ κατὰ δύναμιν ἔργου. ὅτι δεῖ ἕκαστον δοκιμασίᾳ τῶν προεστώτων, μετὰ λόγου καὶ πληροφορίας, οὕτω ποιεῖν πάντα, ἄχρι καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν, ὡς εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ γινόμενα.[8] ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἀφ' ἑτέρου εἰς ἕτερον ἔργον μεταβαίνειν ἄνευ τῆς δοκιμασίας τῶν εἰς τὸ διατυποῦν τὰ[9] τοιαῦτα ἐπιτεταγμένων,[10] ἐκτὸς εἰ μή πού τινα

[1] τραχέως C, D.
[2] ὅτι . . . χρείαν om. C.
[3] μὴ add. C.
[4] οὐδέν om. C.
[5] προτιμᾶσθαι C.
[6] ὑπὲρ ἑαυτὸν C.
[7] θεοῦ C.
[8] γινόμενα om. C; γινομένου E.
[9] τῶν εἰς τὸ διατυποῦν τὰ] τῆς εἰς τὸν διατυποῦντα E.
[10] ἐπιτεταγμένον E, τεταγμένων C.

wherein anger is expressed,[1] or any other elation of the mind which draws us away from the full assurance of God's presence.[2] The voice should be modulated according to circumstances. The Christian should neither answer anyone nor act boldly or contemptuously,[3] but in all things he should exhibit modesty[4] and reverence to everyone.[5] He ought not to wink covertly nor use any other posture or gesture which grieves a brother or shows contempt.[6]

The Christian should not be ostentatious in clothing or sandals, for all this is idle boasting.[7] He should wear cheap clothes according to the need of the body. He should consume nothing beyond what is necessary or which tends to extravagance, for all this is abuse. He should not strive for honour nor always seek the first place.[8] Each one should hold all men above himself.[9] He should not be disobedient.[10] He who is able to work ought not to eat the bread of idleness,[11] but even he who is busy about some duty established to the glory of Christ should constrain himself to zeal for such work as he can do.[12] Each one should, by the approval of his superiors, with reason and with full assurance, so do all things, even to actual drinking and eating, as being to the glory of God.[13] The Christian should not turn from one work to another without the approval of those assigned for the regulation of such

[1] Eph. 4. 31. [2] Heb. 4. 13. [3] Titus 3. 2.
[4] Phil. 4. 5. [5] Rom. 12. 10, and 1 Peter 2. 17.
[6] Rom. 14. 10. [7] Matt. 6. 29 and Luke 12. 27.
[8] Mark 9. 37. [9] Phil. 2. 3.
[10] Titus 1. 10. [11] 2 Thess. 3. 10.
[12] 1 Thess. 4. 11. [13] 1 Cor. 10. 31.

ἀπαραίτητος ἀνάγκη εἰς βοήθειαν τοῦ ἀδυνατήσαντος καλοίη αἰφνίδιον. ὅτι δεῖ ἕκαστον μένειν ἐν ᾧ ἐτάχθη, καὶ μὴ ὑπερβαίνοντα τὸ ἴδιον μέτρον ἐπιβαίνειν τοῖς μὴ ἐπιτεταγμένοις, εἰ μή τι ἂν οἱ ταῦτα πεπιστευμένοι δοκιμάσωσί τινα χρήζοντα βοηθείας. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἀφ' ἑτέρου ἐργαστηρίου εἰς ἕτερον εὑρίσκεσθαί τινα. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ κατὰ φιλονεικίαν ἢ ἔριν τὴν πρός τινα ποιεῖν τι.

Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ φθονεῖν τῇ ἑτέρου[1] εὐδοκιμήσει, οὔτε[2] ἐπιχαίρειν ἐλαττώμασί τινος. ὅτι δεῖ ἐν ἀγάπῃ Χριστοῦ λυπεῖσθαι μὲν καὶ συντρίβεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἐλαττώμασιν, εὐφραίνεσθαι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασιν. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἀδιαφορεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν ἢ ἐφησυχάζειν αὐτοῖς. ὅτι δεῖ τὸν ἐλέγχοντα μετὰ πάσης εὐσπλαγχνίας, φόβῳ Θεοῦ καὶ σκοπῷ τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι τὸν ἁμαρτάνοντα, ἐλέγχειν. ὅτι δεῖ τὸν ἐλεγχόμενον ἢ ἐπιτιμώμενον καταδέχεσθαι προθύμως, γνωρίζοντα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ὄφελος ἐν τῇ διορθώσει. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ, ἐγκαλουμένου τινὸς ἄλλον, ἐνώπιον ἐκείνου ἢ ἄλλων τινῶν ἀντιλέγειν τῷ ἐγκαλοῦντι. ἐὰν δὲ ἄρα ποτὲ ἄλογον φανῇ τὸ ἔγκλημά τινι, κατ' ἰδίαν κινεῖν λόγον πρὸς τὸν ἐγκαλοῦντα, καὶ ἢ πληροφορεῖν ἢ πληροφορεῖσθαι.

Ὅτι δεῖ ἕκαστον, ὅση δύναμις,[3] θεραπεύειν τὸν ἔχοντά τι κατ' αὐτοῦ. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ μνησικακεῖν τῷ ἁμαρτήσαντι καὶ μετανοοῦντι, ἀλλ' ἐκ καρδίας ἀφεῖναι. ὅτι δεῖ τὸν λέγοντα μετανοεῖν ἐφ' ἁμαρτήματι μὴ μόνον κατανυγῆναι ἐφ' ᾧ ἥμαρτεν,

[1] ἄλλων C. [2] ἢ C.
[3] ὅση δύναμις ἕκαστον C.

matters, unless perchance some inevitable necessity suddenly calls one to the aid of the helpless. Each one should remain where he has been placed, and not transgress his own bounds to enter upon unbidden places, unless those entrusted with these matters judge one to be in need of aid. He should not be found going from one workshop to another. He should do nothing out of a feeling of rivalry or contentiousness toward anyone.

The Christian should not be envious of another's good reputation, nor rejoice over his faults.[1] Through love for Christ he should be grieved and distressed at his brother's faults and rejoice over his successes.[2] He should not be indifferent to sinners or silent before them.[3] He who reproves another should do so with all tenderness,[4] in fear of God and with a view to reforming the sinner.[5] He who is reproved or reprimanded should endure it willingly, recognizing the benefit received in being set aright. When a person is being accused, the Christian should not, before him or other persons, contradict the accuser. But if the accusation should ever seem unjust, the Christian should arrange a private conversation with the accuser, and either give or receive full information.

Each one should, according to his power, entertain a kindly feeling for everyone who has a grievance against him. He should not hold past wrongs against the repentant sinner, but should grant forgiveness from the bottom of his heart.[6] He who says that he repents of a sin should not only feel remorse for his sin, but should also produce

[1] 1 Cor. 13. 6. [2] 1 Cor. 12. 26. [3] 1 Tim. 5. 20.
[4] 2 Tim. 4. 2. [5] 2 Tim. 4. 2. [6] 2 Cor. 2. 7.

ἀλλὰ καὶ καρποὺς ἀξίους ποιῆσαι τῆς μετανοίας. ὅτι ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς πρώτοις ἁμαρτήμασι παιδευθεὶς καὶ τῆς ἀφέσεως ἀξιωθείς, ἐὰν πάλιν ἁμάρτῃ, χεῖρον τοῦ προτέρου κατασκευάζει ἑαυτῷ τὸ κρίμα τῆς ὀργῆς. ὅτι δεῖ τὸν μετὰ τὴν πρώτην καὶ δευτέραν νουθεσίαν ἐπιμένοντα τῷ ἐλαττώματι ἑαυτοῦ φανεροῦσθαι τῷ προεστῶτι, ἐὰν ἄρα ὑπὸ πλειόνων ἐπιτιμηθεὶς ἐντραπῇ. ἐὰν δὲ μηδὲ οὕτω διορθώσηται, ὡς σκάνδαλον ἐκκόπτεσθαι τοῦ λοιποῦ, καὶ ὡς ἐθνικὸν καὶ τελώνην ὁρᾶσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τῶν τὴν σπουδὴν τῆς ὑπακοῆς ἐργαζομένων, κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον, Ἀσεβῶν καταπιπτόντων, δίκαιοι ἔμφοβοι γίνονται. δεῖ δὲ καὶ πενθεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ, ὡς μέλους ἐκκοπέντος ἐκ τοῦ σώματος.

Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν[1] παροργισμῷ ἀδελφοῦ ἐπιδῦναι τὸν ἥλιον, μή ποτε ἡ νὺξ διαστῇ μεταξὺ ἀμφοτέρων[2] καὶ καταλίπῃ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως ἀπαραίτητον ἔγκλημα. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ καιρὸν ἀναμένειν ἐπὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ διορθώσει, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀσφαλὲς ἔχειν περὶ τῆς αὔριον, ὅτι πολλοὶ πολλὰ βουλευσάμενοι τὴν αὔριον οὐ κατέλαβον. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἀπατᾶσθαι χορτασίᾳ κοιλίας, δι᾽ ἧς γίνονται φαντασίαι νυκτεριναί. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ περισπᾶσθαι εἰς ἄμετρον ἐργασίαν καὶ ὑπερβαίνειν τοὺς ὅρους τῆς αὐταρκείας, κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον εἰπόντα· Ἔχοντες δὲ διατροφὰς καὶ σκεπάσματα, τούτοις ἀρκεσθησόμεθα· ὅτι ἡ περισσεία ἡ ὑπὲρ τὴν χρείαν εἰκόνα πλεονεξίας ἐμφαίνει, ἡ δὲ πλεονεξία ἀπόφασιν ἔχει εἰδωλολατρείας. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ

[1] ἐπὶ C.

[2] διαστῇ μεταξὺ ἀμφοτέρων] μεταστήσει ἀμφοτέρους C.

fruits worthy of repentance.[1] And he who has been corrected for his first faults and has been thought worthy of forgiveness, if he sins again, prepares for himself a judgment of anger worse than the first.[2] And he who, after the first and second admonition,[3] abides by his shortcoming, should be disclosed to the one in authority,[4] if perchance he may repent when admonished by more.[5] If even so he is not set aright, he should be cut off from the rest as a cause for scandal, and should be regarded as a heathen and publican,[6] for the sake of the safety of those zealous in obedience, according to the saying, "When the impious fall, the righteous tremble." [7] Yet all should mourn for him, as though a member has been cut off from the body.

The sun should never set on a brother's wrath,[8] lest some time night stand between both and leave an inevitable charge for the day of judgment. The Christian should not await an opportunity for his own reform,[9] because the morrow is not secure, since many who have made many plans have not reached the morrow. He should not be deceived by the filling of his belly, for nightmares come from this. He should not busy himself with excessive work, and thus overstep the bounds of sufficiency, as the apostle says, "Having food and wherewith to be covered, with this we are content;" [10] because an abundance which goes beyond necessity gives an

[1] Luke 3. 8. [2] Heb. 10. 26–27. [3] Titus 3. 10.

[4] Cf. Justin Martyr's description of the Christian service in *Apol. Maj.* 1.

[5] Titus 2. 8. [6] Matt. 18. 17. [7] Prov. 29. 16.

[8] Eph. 4. 26. [9] Matt. 24. 14 and Luke 12. 40.

[10] 1 Tim. 6. 8.

φιλάργυρον εἶναι, οὐδὲ θησαυρίζειν εἰς ἀνωφελῆ ἃ μὴ δεῖ. ὅτι δεῖ τὸν προσερχόμενον Θεῷ ἀκτημοσύνην ἀσπάζεσθαι κατὰ πάντα, καὶ[1] καθηλωμένον εἶναι τῷ φόβῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα· Καθήλωσον ἐκ τοῦ φόβου σου τὰς σάρκας μου· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν κριμάτων σου ἐφοβήθην.

Δῴη δὲ ὁ Κύριος μετὰ πάσης πληροφορίας ὑμᾶς ἀναδεξαμένους τὰ εἰρημένα, εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ καρποὺς ἀξίους τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐπιδείξασθαι, Θεοῦ εὐδοκίᾳ καὶ συνεργίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ἀμήν.

XXIII

Παραθετικὴ πρὸς μονάζοντα[2]

Ὁ δεῖνα, ὡς λέγει, καταγνοὺς τῆς τοῦ βίου τούτου ματαιότητος καὶ καταμαθὼν ὅτι τῆς ζωῆς ταύτης τὰ τερπνὰ ἐνταῦθα τὴν καταστροφὴν ἔχει, ὕλας μόνον κατασκευάζοντα τῷ αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ ταχεῖαν δὲ ἔχοντα τὴν πάροδον, κατέλαβέ με, βουλόμενος ἀποστῆναι μὲν τῆς μοχθηρᾶς καὶ πολυστενάκτου ζωῆς, καταλιπεῖν δὲ τὰς τῆς σαρκὸς ἡδονάς, ἐπελθεῖν δὲ λοιπὸν τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ ἀγούσῃ ἐπὶ τὰς μονὰς τοῦ Κυρίου. ἐπειδὴ οὖν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν, εἰ φύσει ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ καθέστηκε τῆς μακαρίας ὄντως διαγωγῆς, καὶ τὸν καλὸν καὶ ἐπαινούμενον ἔρωτα ἔσχεν ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῇ, ἀγαπήσας Κύριον τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας,

[1] καὶ κατὰ πάντα C.

[2] παραθετικὴ ἀποταξαμένῳ τῷ βίῳ καὶ μονάσαντι F.

appearance of avarice, and avarice has the condemnation of idolatry.[1] He should not be desirous of money,[2] nor treasure up unnecessary things to no avail. He who approaches God ought to embrace poverty in all things, and be pierced with the fear of God, according to him who said, "Pierce thou my flesh with thy fear, for I am afraid of thy judgments."[3]

The Lord grant that you may receive all these admonitions with all assurance, and that you may exhibit fruits worthy of the Holy Spirit to the glory of God, with God's approval and the assistance of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

LETTER XXIII

An Admonition to a Monk[4]

A certain man, who had come, as he said, to despise the vanity of this life and to realize that its joys have their consummation here, since they merely provide fuel for the eternal fire and pass quickly away, came to me and expressed a desire to depart from his miserable and lamentable life, to abandon the pleasures of the flesh, and to follow henceforth the path which leads to the mansions of the Lord. Now if he has really come to a desire for the truly blessed way of life, and has conceived in his soul that noble and praiseworthy affection, loving the Lord our God with his whole heart, with his

[1] Col. 3. 5. [2] Mark 10. 23–24 and Luke 18. 24.
[3] Psal. 119. 120.
[4] Probably written at Caesarea, during his presbyterate.

καὶ ἐξ ὅλης ἰσχύος, καὶ ἐξ ὅλης διανοίας,[1] *ὑποδειχθῆναι αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας θεοσεβείας τὰ δυσχερῆ καὶ δυσάντητα τῆς στενῆς καὶ τεθλιμμένης ὁδοῦ, ἐν ἐλπίδι δὲ αὐτὸν καταστῆσαι*[2] *τῶν νῦν τέως μὴ βλεπομένων, ἐν ἐπαγγελίαις δὲ ἀποκειμένων*[3] *ἀγαθῶν τοῖς ἀξίοις τοῦ Κυρίου.*

Διὸ[4] *γράφων παρακαλῶ τὴν ἀσύγκριτον ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ*[5] *τελειότητα τυπῶσαι, εἰ οἷόν τε εἴη, καὶ δίχα μου ποιῆσαι τήν τε ἀποταγὴν αὐτοῦ*[6] *κατὰ τὸ ἄρεσκον Θεῷ, καὶ στοιχειωθῆναι*[7] *αὐτὸν κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς ἁγίοις πατράσι καὶ ἐγγράφως ὑπ' αὐτῶν*[8] *ἐκτεθέντα· ἤδη δὲ αὐτῷ προταθῆναι*[9] *ἅπαντα ὅσα τῇ ἀκριβείᾳ δοκεῖ τῇ ἀσκητικῇ, καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν προσαχθῆναι τῷ βίῳ, αὐθαιρέτως ἀναδεξάμενον τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀγῶνας, καὶ ὑπαγαγόντα ἑαυτὸν τῷ χρηστῷ τοῦ Κυρίου ζυγῷ, καὶ κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ δι' ἡμᾶς πτωχεύσαντος καὶ σάρκα φορέσαντος πολιτευσάμενον, καὶ κατὰ σκοπὸν δραμόντα πρὸς τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως, τυχεῖν τῆς παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀποδοχῆς. ἐγὼ γὰρ σπουδάζοντα αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα δέξασθαι τὸν τῆς κατὰ Θεὸν ἀγάπης στέφανον ὑπερεθέμην,*[10] *βουλόμενος μετὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας θεοσεβείας ἀλεῖψαι αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους ἄθλους, καὶ ἕνα ὃν ἂν ὑμῶν αὐτὸς ἐπιζητήσῃ ἐπιστῆσαι αὐτῷ ἀλείπτην, καλῶς παιδοτριβοῦντα καὶ παλαιστὴν δόκιμον ἀπεργαζόμενον διὰ τῆς συντόνου καὶ μακαρίας ἐπιμε-*

[1] *καὶ . . . διανοίας* om. E.
[2] *καταστῆναι* A, B, D, F.
[3] *ὑποκειμένων* B.
[4] *διὸ* om. E.
[5] *ἐν Χριστῷ* om. C, D.
[6] *αὐτῷ* Ed. Ben. ; *αὐτοῦ* MSS.
[7] *θεῷ* add. C, D.
[8] *ὑπ' αὐτῶν*] *αὐτοῖς* F.
[9] *προτεθῆναι* E.
[10] *ὑπεθέμην* C, D.

whole strength, and with his whole mind, it is incumbent upon your reverence to give him an intimation of the difficulties and hardships of the strait and narrow path, and to establish him in the hope of the blessings which are now for a time unseen, but which by promise are stored up for those worthy of the Lord.

Therefore I write to beg your incomparable perfection in Christ to mould him, if that be possible, and without my help to bring about in him the renunciation of the world according to God's pleasure, and that he be grounded in the precepts of the holy Fathers as set forth by them in writing. And I beg that there be laid before him straightway all such rules[1] as are approved by the strict ascetic discipline; and that he be so introduced to the life, that by voluntarily taking up the struggles for piety, submitting himself to the excellent yoke of the Lord, conducting himself in imitation of Him who became poor[2] and endured flesh for our sake, and by running with an eye to the prize of his high calling, he may obtain acceptance with the Lord. For although he was eager to receive at this place the crown of God's love, I put him off, because I wished to anoint him for such contests by the help of your reverence, and to place over him as anointer that one of you for whom he himself may ask, one who would train him well and make of him, by his unremitting and blessed care, an approved wrestler,

[1] Among a number of works on the ascetic life which have been ascribed to Basil is a "Book of Ascetic Discipline" (Ἀσκητικὸς βίβλος). This discourse is an exhortation to renunciation of the world, and contains also specific directions for the monastic life. Cf. Introd. p. xxxiii.

[2] 2 Cor. 8. 9.

λείας, τιτρώσκοντα καὶ καταβάλλοντα τὸν κοσμοκράτορα τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος[1] τούτου καὶ τὰ πνευματικὰ δὲ τῆς πονηρίας, πρὸς ἃ ἡμῖν ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸν μακάριον ἀπόστολον ἡ πάλη. ὃ τοίνυν ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν ἠβουλήθην ποιῆσαι, ἡ ἐν Χριστῷ ὑμῶν ἀγάπη καὶ δίχα μου ποιησάτω.

XXIV

Ἀθανασίῳ τῷ πατρὶ Ἀθανασίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἀγκύρας[2]

Ὅτι μὲν κρείττονα εἶναι διαβολῶν ἀνθρώπου βίον τῶν χαλεπωτάτων ἐστίν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν ἀδυνάτων εἴπω, αὐτός τε πέπεισμαι καὶ τὴν σὴν χρηστότητα νομίζω μὴ ἀμφιβάλλειν. τὸ μέντοι μηδεμίαν παρέχειν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν λαβὴν μήτε τοῖς ἀκριβῶς ἐπιτηροῦσι τὰ πράγματα μήτε τοῖς κατ' ἐπήρειαν ἐφεδρεύουσιν ἡμῶν τοῖς ὀλισθήμασι, τοῦτο[3] καὶ δυνατὸν καὶ ἴδιον τῶν συνετῶς καὶ κατὰ τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας σκοπὸν τὸν ἑαυτῶν βίον διεξαγόντων. ἡμᾶς δὲ μὴ οὕτως εὐκόλους οἴου μηδὲ εὐπαραγώγους εἶναι, ὥστε ἀνεξετάστως τὰς παρὰ τῶν τυχόντων προσίεσθαι καταῤῥήσεις. μεμνήμεθα

[1] τοῦ αἰῶνος om. A, B, C, D.

[2] Ἀγκύρας om. A, B, E, F. Ἀθανασίῳ πατρὶ Ἀθανασίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ὅτι τὰ κατ' αὐτοῦ λεχθέντα ἀνεξετάστως οὐ παραδέχεται καὶ ὅτι δεῖ τοῖς τέχνοις πρὸς τῇ φυσικῇ καὶ τὴν ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἐπιτείνειν ἀγάπην C.

[3] τοῦτο δὴ C, D, F.

to wound and overthrow the universal lord of the darkness of this world and the spirits of iniquity, with whom according to the blessed apostle we have "our wrestling."[1] What then I wished to do with your help, let your love in Christ do without me.

LETTER XXIV

To Athanasius, father of Athanasius Bishop of Ancyra[2]

I am myself convinced, and I presume your excellency does not doubt, that for a man's life to be above slander is one of the most difficult things in the world, not to say an impossibility. Yet to offer of one's self no opportunity either to those who watch keenly over our doings or to those who spitefully lie in wait for one's lapses, is not only possible but is the special characteristic of all who conduct their living prudently and with an eye to piety. As for me, do not consider me so complaisant or so easily led astray as to accept without investigation the disparagements of chance comers. For we

[1] Cf. Eph. 6. 12: "For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the world of this darkness, against the spirits of wickedness in the high places."

[2] Written before Basil's episcopate, probably in 369. Nothing is known of this elder Athanasius, except what may be gathered from this letter. He had evidently been the object of some slanderous report concerning his treatment of his children, this report giving occasion for Basil's letter.

γὰρ τοῦ πνευματικοῦ παραγγέλματος μὴ χρῆναι προσδέχεσθαι ἀκοὴν ματαίαν παρεγγυῶντος.

Πλὴν ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ὑμεῖς αὐτοί φατε, οἱ περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐσπουδακότες, τὰ φαινόμενα τῶν ἀφανῶν εἶναι σημεῖα, τοῦτο ἀξιοῦμεν (καὶ μὴ βαρέως δέξῃ, εἴ τι ἐν διδασκαλίας εἴδει λεχθήσεται παρ' ἡμῶν· τὰ γὰρ ἀσθενῆ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τὰ ἐξουθενημένα ἐξελέξατο ὁ Θεός, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν πολλάκις οἰκονομεῖ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν σωζομένων)· ὅ γε μὴν λέγω καὶ παραγγέλλω ἐκεῖνό ἐστι· πάντα μὲν λόγον, πᾶσαν δὲ πρᾶξιν καθήκουσαν περιεσκεμμένως ἐπιτελεῖσθαι· καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀποστολικὸν παράγγελμα, μηδεμίαν ἐν μηδενὶ διδόναι προσκοπήν. πρέπον γὰρ εἶναι τίθεμαι, ἀνδρὸς πολλὰ μὲν ἐπὶ μαθήσει[1] λόγων ἱδρώσαντος, ἐθνῶν δὲ καὶ πόλεων ἀρχὰς διευθύναντος, καὶ πρὸς μεγάλην προγόνων ἀρετὴν τὸν ζῆλον ἔχοντος,[2] τὸν βίον προκεῖσθαι εἰς ὑπόδειγμα ἀρετῆς.

Τὴν μέντοι περὶ τὰ τέκνα διάθεσιν οὐχὶ λόγῳ νῦν ὀφείλεις δεικνύναι, ὅς γε[3] πάλαι ἔδειξας ἀφ' οὗ πατὴρ ἐγένου, οὐ μόνον τῇ φυσικῇ στοργῇ κεχρημένος, ἣν καὶ τὰ ἄλογα παρέχεται τοῖς ἐκγόνοις, ὡς αὐτός τε εἶπας[4] καὶ ἡ πεῖρα δείκνυσιν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιτείνειν τὴν ἀγάπην, δηλονότι

[1] μαθήμασι E. [2] σχόντος E.
[3] ὅς γε] ὥστε C, D. [4] εἶπες E.

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[1] Ex. 23. 1.
[2] Cf. 1 Cor. 1. 27–28: ἀλλὰ τὰ μωρὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελέξατο ὁ Θεός, ἵνα τοὺς σοφοὺς καταισχύνῃ. καὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελέξατο ὁ Θεός, ἵνα καταισχύνῃ τὰ ἰσχυρά· καὶ τὰ ἀγενῆ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τὰ ἐξουθενημένα ἐξελέξατο ὁ Θεός, καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα,

are mindful of the spiritual injunction that we should not "receive the voice of a lie."[1]

However, since you yourself, who are devoted to letters, declare that things visible are tokens of the invisible, we deem it right to assert (and do not take it ill, if anything I may say shall take the form of instruction; for God has chosen the weak things of the world and the things which are contemptible, and through them often works the salvation of those that are saved[2])—now what I assert and advise is this: that we fulfil with circumspection every word and every deed that devolves upon us, and, according to the apostle's precept, that we give no offence to any man.[3] For if a man has sweated much for the learning of letters, if he has directed the government of nations and cities, and if he emulates the great virtue of his forefathers, I consider it right and proper that his life be placed before us as an example of virtue.

However, as regards your disposition towards your children, you need not now give evidence of it merely by word, since you have long given such evidence of it, ever since, in fact, you became a father, for you have, as you yourself have stated and given proof, exhibited something more than that natural affection which even irrational creatures give to their offspring; but you should also intensify

ἵνα τὰ ὄντα καταργήσῃ. "But the foolish things of the world hath God chosen, that He may confound the wise, and the weak things of the world hath God chosen, that He may confound the strong. And the base things of the world, and the things that are contemptible, hath God chosen, and things that are not, that He may bring to nought things that are."

[3] Cf. 2 Cor. 6. 3.

ἐκ προαιρέσεως, ὅσῳ ὁρᾷς τοιαῦτα ὄντα οἷα ἄξια εἶναι πατρικῶν προσευχῶν. ὥστε οὐχ ἡμᾶς δεῖ περὶ τούτων πείθεσθαι, ἀρκοῦσα γὰρ ἡ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν γινομένων ἐστὶ μαρτυρία.

Ἐκεῖνό γε μὴν οὐκ ἄκαιρον προσθεῖναι τῆς ἀληθείας ἕνεκεν, ὅτι οὐχ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Τιμόθεός ἐστιν ὁ χωρεπίσκοπος ὁ ἀνενεγκὼν ἡμῖν τὰ θρυλ-γηθέντα. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν συντυχίᾳ οὔτε διὰ γράμματος φαίνεται μικρόν τι ἢ μεῖζον διαβολῆς ἐχόμενον περὶ σοῦ φθεγξάμενος. ὥστε ἀκηκοέναι μέν τι οὐκ ἀρνούμεθα, οὐ μὴν Τιμόθεον εἶναι τὸν τὰς διαβολάς σοι κατασκευάζοντα. ἀκούοντες δὲ πάντως, εἰ μή τι ἄλλο, τὸ γοῦν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ποιήσομεν, τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν ἀκοῶν ἀκεραίαν ταμιευσόμεθα [1] τῷ διαβαλλομένῳ.

XXV

Ἀθανασίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἀγκύρας [2]

Ἀπήγγειλάν μοί τινες τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀγκύρας πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφικομένων, πολλοὶ δὲ οὗτοι καὶ [3] οὐδὲ ἀριθμῆσαι ῥᾴδιον, σύμφωνα δὲ πάντες φθεγγόμενοι, σέ, τὴν φίλην κεφαλὴν (πῶς ἂν εὐφήμως εἴποιμι;) οὐχ ὡς ἥδιστα μεμνῆσθαι ἡμῶν, οὐδὲ κατὰ [4] τὸν σεαυτοῦ τρόπον. ἐμὲ δὲ οὐδὲν

[1] ταμιευόμεθα A, B, F.
[2] Ἀθανασίῳ Ἀγκύρας ὥστε φανερῶσαι αὐτῷ πόθεν ἐκινήθη πρὸς τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ λύπην C.
[3] οὓς add. A, B, C, D, F. [4] κατὰ om. C, D, F.

[1] Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*.

your love, deliberately, of course, in proportion as you see that they are worthy of a father's prayers. Accordingly we do not need to be convinced about these things, for the evidence of the facts themselves is sufficient.

It is not out of place, however, for the sake of truth to add this: it is not our brother Timotheus, the Coadjutor Bishop, who brought us these reports. For neither in conversation nor in correspondence has he been found uttering anything great or small about you which contained any slander. Hence, while we do not deny that we have heard something, yet it was not Timotheus who got up these slanders against you. But though we do certainly hear them, whatever else we do, we shall at any rate follow the example of Alexander, and keep one ear untainted for the accused.[1]

LETTER XXV

To Athanasius, Bishop of Ancyra[2]

Some of those who come to us from Ancyra—and these are many and more than I can count, but all agree in what they say—have told me that you, my dear friend, have made mention of me (how may I say it without offence?) in no very pleasant terms nor in your usual manner. So far as I am concerned,

[2] Like the previous letter, written before his episcopate, probably in 369. Cf. Diekamp, *Byzant. Zeitschr.* 18, 1909, 3 f. This Athanasius was appointed to the see of Ancyra through the influence of Acacius, Bishop of Caesarea, a leader of the Homooeans. However, he himself acquired a reputation for orthodoxy. Cf. Greg. Nyss. *Contra Eunom.* 1. 11, 292. Basil speaks highly of him in Letter XXIX.

ἐκπλήσσει τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, εὖ ἴσθι, οὐδὲ ἀπροσδόκητός ἐστιν οὐδενὸς τῶν πάντων μεταβολή, πάλαι τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀσθενὲς καὶ τὸ εὐπερίτρεπτον πρὸς τὰ ἐναντία καταμαθόντα. ὅθεν οὔτ' εἴ τι τῶν ἡμετέρων μεταπέπτωκε, καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρότερον τιμῆς λοιδορίαι καὶ ὕβρεις περὶ ἡμᾶς νῦν γίνονται,[1] μέγα τοῦτο ποιοῦμαι. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνό μοι [2] παράδοξον ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ὑπερφυὲς ἐφάνη, τὸ σὲ εἶναι τὸν οὕτω πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχοντα, ὥστε ὀργίζεσθαι ἡμῖν καὶ χαλεπαίνειν, ἤδη δέ τι καὶ ἀπειλεῖν, ὡς ὁ τῶν ἀκουσάντων λόγος.

Τῶν μὲν οὖν [3] ἀπειλῶν καὶ πάνυ (εἰρήσεται γὰρ τἀληθές) κατεγέλασα. ἦ κομιδῇ γ' ἂν παῖς εἴην,[4] τὰ τοιαῦτα μορμολύκεια δεδοικώς.[5] ἐκεῖνο δέ μοι καὶ φοβερὸν καὶ πολλῆς φροντίδος ἄξιον [6] ἔδοξε, τὸ τὴν σὴν ἀκρίβειαν, ἣν ἐν ὀλίγοις ἔρεισμά τε ὀρθότητος, καὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας καὶ ἀληθινῆς ἀγάπης σπέρμα εἰς παραμυθίαν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις σώζεσθαι πεπιστεύκαμεν,[7] ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον [8] τῆς παρούσης καταστάσεως μετασχεῖν, ὥστε τὰς παρὰ τῶν τυχόντων βλασφημίας κυριωτέρας ποιήσασθαι τῆς μακρᾶς ἡμῶν πείρας, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀτόπων ὑπόνοιαν χωρὶς ἀποδείξεων [9] ὑπαχθῆναι. καίτοι [10] τί λέγω ὑπόνοιαν; ὁ γὰρ ἀγανακτήσας καὶ διαπειληθείς, ὥς φασιν, οὐχ ὑπονοοῦντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἤδη σαφῶς καὶ ἀναντιῤῥήτως πεισθέντος δοκεῖ πως ὀργὴν ἐνδεδεῖχθαι.

'Αλλ', ὅπερ [11] ἔφην, ἐπὶ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον [12]

[1] ἐγγίνονται E. [2] τὴν πρώτην add. C, D, F.
[3] τῶν μὲν οὖν] τὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν E. [4] παισὶν ἦν E.
[5] δεδοικόσιν E. [6] ἄξιον om. E.
[7] πεπιστεύκαιμεν F; πεπιστεύκειμεν C, D. [8] τοσούτῳ E.
[9] ἀποδείξεως E. [10] καὶ E. [11] ὥσπερ A, B.

however, nothing in human affairs astonishes me, rest assured, and a change of mind on the part of any man in the world would not be unexpected, since I have long since learned the weakness of human nature and its liability to move around to the opposite. Therefore I consider it of no great consequence if any change has taken place in my relations, and if, instead of respect as aforetime, abuse and insult are now our portion. This, however, strikes me as truly incredible and monstrous, that you should be the person so disposed towards us as to be angry and bitter, indeed going so far now as to utter threats, as they say who have heard.

Now so far as the threats are concerned, I utterly—for the truth must be told—laugh them to scorn. Indeed I should be a mere child to be terrified at such bugbears. However, that a man of your acumen, whom we have believed to be preserved as one among few for the consolation of the churches, as a bulwark of the true faith and a seed of the original and true love—that you should so far share the existing state of feeling, as to place more weight upon blasphemies of men of no account than on your long experience of us, and are thus led to suspect the truth of outlandish tales without proof, this to us seems ground for both fear and serious anxiety. Yet why do I say "suspect"? For the man who has become indignant and has uttered violent threats, as they say, seems somehow to have displayed the wrath, not of a person who suspects, but of one who has already been clearly and undeniably convinced.

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[12] *τῶν καιρῶν τούτων* A, B, E, F.

ἀναφέρομεν τὴν αἰτίαν. ἐπεὶ πόσου πόνου ἦν, ὦ θαυμάσιε, ἐν ἐπιστολῇ βραχείᾳ περὶ ὧν ἐβούλου οἱονεὶ μόνον μόνῳ διαλεχθῆναι· ἤ, εἰ μὴ ἐπίστευες γραφῇ τὰ τοιαῦτα, πρὸς ἑαυτὸν[1] *μεταπέμψασθαι; εἰ δὲ πάντως ἐξειπεῖν ἔδει, καὶ ἀναβολῇ*[2] *καιρὸν οὐκ ἐδίδου τὸ δυσκάθεκτον τῆς ὀργῆς, ἀλλ' ἑνί γέ τινι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ στέγειν ἀπόρρητα πεφυκότων, ἐξῆν δή που τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς λόγων χρήσασθαι διακόνῳ. νυνὶ δὲ τίνος οὐχὶ περιτεθρύλληται τὰ ὦτα τῶν καθ' ὁποιανδήποτε χρείαν ὑμῖν*[3] *ἐπιφοιτώντων, ὡς ἡμῶν ἄτας τινὰς γραφόντων καὶ*[4] *συγγραφόντων;*[5] *τούτῳ γάρ σε κεχρῆσθαί φασι τῷ ῥήματι, οἱ ἐπὶ λέξεως τὰ σὰ διηγούμενοι. ἐμὲ δὲ ἐπὶ πολλὰ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀγαγόντα*[6] *τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον τῆς ἀμηχανίας ἀφίησιν.*

Ὥστε με καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι εἰσῆλθε·[7] *μή τις τῶν αἱρετικῶν κακούργως τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ συγγράμμασι τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα παραγράψας,*[8] *ἐλύπησέ σου τὴν ὀρθότητα καὶ ἐκείνην ἀφεῖναι τὴν φωνὴν προηγάγετο. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ὑφ' ἡμῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀνόμοιον κατ' οὐσίαν τολμήσαντας εἰπεῖν τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ Θεὸν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρί, ἢ πρὸς τοὺς κτίσμα καὶ ποίημα εἶναι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον βλασφημήσαντας, ταύτην ἂν ἐπενεγκεῖν τὴν λοιδορίαν ἠνέσχου ὁ τοὺς μεγάλους ἄθλους ἐκείνους καὶ περιβοήτους ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας διενεγκών. λύσαις δ' ἂν ἡμῖν τὴν ἀμηχανίαν*

[1] *σεαυτὸν* A, B, C, D.
[2] *ἡ ἀναβολὴ* A, B; *ἀναβολῆς* F.
[3] *ἡμῖν* F.
[4] *ἢ* A.
[5] *καὶ συγγραφόντων* om. E.
[6] *ἀναγαγόντα* C, D.
[7] *εἰσῆλθε* om. E.
[8] *παρέγγραψας* B, D.

But, as I said, I attribute the cause of your outbreak to these present times. Otherwise, how much trouble would it have been, my dear sir, for you to have discussed with me any question you pleased in a brief letter, as though alone with me; or, if you would not entrust such matters to writing, to have summoned me to your presence? But if you were constrained by all means to speak out, and your uncontrollable temper would allow you no time for delay, still it would have been possible, I presume, to employ one of those who are close to you and capable of keeping secrets as an agent of communication with us. But as it is, who is there, of those who visit you on any errand whatsoever, in whose ears it has not been dinned that we write and compose "pestiferous things?" For this is the expression which those who quote you word for word declared that you used. But though I have considered the matter earnestly, my mind nevertheless offers me no relief from my perplexity.

Consequently, some such thought as this has come to me, that perhaps some heretic maliciously subscribed my name to his own writings, and thus grieved your orthodoxy and enticed you to say those words? For surely you, who have borne those great and far-famed struggles on behalf of orthodoxy, could never have endured to bring this slander upon the works[1] which we have composed, against those who dare say that the Son and God are unlike in substance to the God and Father, or against those who blasphemously assert that the Holy Spirit is a thing created and made. You would yourself relieve

[1] For Basil's dogmatic works, cf. Introd. p. xxiii.

αὐτός, εἰ ἐθελήσειας τὰ κινήσαντά σε πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν λύπην φανερῶς ἐξαγγεῖλαι.

XXVI

Καισαρίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Γρηγορίου.[1]

Χάρις τῷ Θεῷ, τῷ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ θαυμάσια καὶ ἐν[2] σοὶ ἐπιδειξαμένῳ,[3] καὶ ἐκ τοσούτου θανάτου διασώσαντί σε, τῇ τε πατρίδι καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς προσήκουσι. λείπεται δὴ οὖν μὴ ἀχαρίστους ἡμᾶς ὀφθῆναι μηδ' ἀναξίους τῆς τοσαύτης εὐεργεσίας. ἀλλὰ κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν ἡμετέραν διαγγέλλειν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ παράδοξα, καὶ ἧς ἔργῳ πεπειράμεθα φιλανθρωπίας, ταύτην ἀνυμνεῖν, καὶ μὴ λόγῳ μόνον ἀποδιδόναι τὴν χάριν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι, οἷον καὶ νῦν εἶναι πειθόμεθα, τεκμαιρόμενοι τοῖς περί σε θαύμασι.

Καὶ ἔτι μειζόνως τῷ Θεῷ δουλεύειν παρακαλοῦμεν, προσθήκαις ἀεὶ τὸν φόβον συναύξοντα καὶ εἰς τὸ τέλειον[4] προκόπτοντα, ἵνα φρόνιμοι οἰκονόμοι τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν ἀποδειχθῶμεν, εἰς ἣν ἡμᾶς ἡ ἀγαθότης τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐταμιεύσατο. εἰ γὰρ καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν πρόσταγμά ἐστι παραστῆσαι ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Θεῷ, ὡσεὶ ἐκ νεκρῶν ζῶντας, πῶς οὐχὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς ὑψωθεῖσιν ἐκ τῶν πυλῶν τοῦ θανάτου; τοῦτο δ' ἂν μάλιστα, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν

[1] τῷ ἀδελφῷ Γρηγορίου om. A, B, C, D; Καισαρίῳ ἀδελφῷ Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου Βασίλειος F.
[2] ἐν om. A, B, C, D.
[3] ἐπιδεικνυμένῳ A, B, C, D.
[4] ἀεὶ add. E, F.

us of this perplexity, if you should be willing to proclaim openly what things have stirred you to be so offended with us.

LETTER XXVI

To Caesarius, the brother of Gregory[1]

Thanks be to God, who has shown His wonders even in your person, and has preserved you from such a death, for your fatherland and for us your relations. So therefore it remains for us not to be seen ungrateful or unworthy of such a benefaction. Rather we ought with all our strength to herald the wonders of God and to celebrate that kindness which in very deed we have experienced, and not in word alone to render thanks, but also in deed to prove ourselves such as we believe we already are, judging by the miracles wrought in your case.

We urge you to be an even better servant of God, ever more and more increasing your fear of Him, and advancing to perfection, to the end that we may prove ourselves wise stewards of the life for which the goodness of God has spared us. For if we all are commanded to present ourselves to God, as those that are alive from the dead,[2] how much the more are they so commanded who have been lifted from the very gates of death? This command can

[1] This letter, written in 368, is addressed to the youngest brother of Gregory Nazianzenus. The work Πύστεις or *Quaestiones de Rebus Divinis* is attributed to him with grave doubt. The occasion for this letter is the narrow escape from death which Caesarius experienced during an earthquake on the tenth of October, 368. Shortly after receiving this letter, he retired from the world.

[2] Rom. 6. 13.

πείθω, κατορθωθείη, εἰ βουληθείημεν ἀεὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν διάνοιαν, ἣν εἴχομεν[1] *ἐπὶ τοῦ καιροῦ τῶν κινδύνων. πάντως γάρ που εἰσῄει ἡμᾶς τοῦ βίου τὸ μάταιον, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν πιστὸν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, οὔτε*[2] *πάγιον, οὕτω ῥᾳδίως ἐχόντων τὰς μεταπτώσεις. καί πού τις μεταμέλεια μὲν ἔκ τε τῶν εἰκότων ἐνεγίνετο ἡμῖν, ἐπὶ τοῖς φθάσασιν ὑπόσχεσις*[3] *δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐφεξῆς, εἰ περισωθείημεν, Θεῷ δουλεύειν*[4] *καὶ ἑαυτῶν ἐπιμέλεσθαι*[5] *κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀκρίβειαν. εἰ γάρ τινα ἡμῖν ἔννοιαν ὁ τοῦ θανάτου κίνδυνος ἐπικείμενος ἐνεδίδου, οἶμαί σε ἢ ταῦτα ἢ ἐγγύτατα*[6] *τούτων ἀναλογίζεσθαι τηνικαῦτα.*

Ὥστε ἀναγκαίου ὀφλήματος ἐκτίσει ὑπεύθυνοι καθεστήκαμεν. ταῦτα ὁμοῦ μὲν περιχαρὴς ὢν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ δωρεᾷ, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ φροντίδα ἔχων περὶ[7] *τῶν μελλόντων, ἀπεθάρσησα ὑπομνῆσαι τὴν τελειότητά σου. σὸν δέ ἐστιν εὐμενῶς καὶ ἡμέρως προσέσθαι ἡμῶν τοὺς λόγους, ὡς καὶ ἐν ταῖς κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁμιλίαις σοὶ ἦν*[8] *σύνηθες.*

XXVII

Εὐσεβίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Σαμοσάτων

Ὅτε τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι καὶ τῇ βοηθείᾳ τῶν σῶν προσευχῶν μικρὸν ἀναφέρειν ἐκ τῆς ἀῤῥωστίας

[1] *ἔχομεν* C, D, E. [2] *οὐδὲ* E, F.
[3] *ὑποσχέσεις* B, D. [4] *δουλεύσειν* F.
[5] *ἐπιμελέσεσθαι* E, F. [6] *ἐγγυτάτῳ* B.
[7] *ὑπὲρ* C, D. [8] *σοὶ ἦν* om. C, D.

[1] Written in the spring of 368; cf. Schafer, p. 34. This

best be fulfilled, I am convinced, if we resolve always to preserve the same attitude of mind that we had at the moment of our perils. For assuredly we were reminded of the vanity of life, and also that there is nothing trustworthy or fixed and solid in human affairs, seeing that they so readily admit of change. And no doubt there arose in us, probably, in the first place, a feeling of repentance for the past, and then a promise regarding the future, that, if we should survive, we should serve God and be mindful of ourselves with all strictness. For if the imminent danger of death suggested any subject for our reflection, I believe you bethought yourself of this or something very much like it, at that time.

Accordingly we stand responsible for the payment of a binding debt. I have made bold to remind your perfection of this obligation because I am at once overjoyed at God's gift and solicitous concerning the future. It is yours to receive our words graciously and calmly, as was your wont when we conversed together eye to eye.

LETTER XXVII

To Eusebius, Bishop of Samosata [1]

When by God's grace and the aid of your prayers I seemed to be recovering a little from my illness

letter is of no particular interest except as containing one of the many complaints expressed by Basil against the ill-health which followed him through life. It is the first of the twenty-two letters addressed by Basil to Eusebius, Bishop of Samosata (about 260 miles from Caesarea), from 360 to 373. Cf. Theodoret, *Ecc. Hist.* iv. 15, and v. 4.

ἔδοξα καὶ ἀνελεξάμην ἐμαυτοῦ τὰς δυνάμεις, τότε ὁ χειμὼν ἐπεγένετο, οἴκοι καθείργων ἡμᾶς καὶ κατὰ χώραν μένειν συναναγκάζων. εἰ γὰρ καὶ πολλῷ κουφότερος τῆς συνηθείας ἀπήντησεν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἔμοιγε ἱκανὸς εἰς ἐμπόδιον, οὐχ ὅπως ὁδοιπορεῖν δι' αὐτοῦ,[1] ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μικρὸν προκύπτειν τοῦ δωματίου δύνασθαι.

Ἔστι δέ μοι οὐδὲ τοῦτο μικρόν, τὸ καταξιοῦσθαι διὰ γραμμάτων ὁμιλεῖν τῇ θεοσεβείᾳ σου, καὶ τῇ ἐλπίδι τῶν ἀντιδόσεων ἤδη προαναπαύεσθαι. εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ καιρὸς ἐνδοίη, καὶ τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῖν ἔτι λείποιτο χρόνος, καὶ μὴ ἄπορον ἡμῖν τὴν ὁδὸν ὁ λιμὸς ἀπεργάσαιτο, ταχὺ ἂν τύχοιμεν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας διὰ τῶν σῶν προσευχῶν· καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑστίας σε καταλαβόντες κατὰ πᾶσαν σχολὴν τῶν μεγάλων θησαυρῶν τῆς ἐν σοὶ σοφίας ἐμφορηθείημεν.

XXVIII

Τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Νεοκαισαρείας παραμυθητική

Ἀπῄτει μὲν τὰ συμβάντα τὴν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν παρουσίαν, τοῦ τε τὴν τιμὴν τῷ μακαρίῳ τοῖς οἰκειοτάτοις ὑμῖν συνεκπληρῶσαι, καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει κατηφείας ἀπ'[2] αὐτῆς τῆς θέας τῶν σκυθρωποτέρων συμμετασχεῖν, καὶ ὥστε τῶν ἀναγκαίων βουλευμάτων ὑμῖν κοινωνῆσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν σωματικὴν συνάφειαν πολλὰ τὰ

[1] ἐμαυτοῦ A, B, C, D, E. [2] ἐπ' E, F.

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[1] Written in the spring of 368; cf. Schaefer *loc. cit.* This letter is conjectured to be on the death of Musonius, Bishop

and had regained my strength, then winter came on, shutting us up at home and forcing us to remain where we were. For even if this winter were much milder than usual, nevertheless it would be severe enough to keep me, not only from travelling, but from being able to put my head even for a moment outside my chamber.

However, it is no slight privilege to be permitted to converse with your reverence by letter, and to rest at ease meanwhile in the hope of your reply. Yet should the opportunity arise, and should a period of life still be in store for us, and should the famine not render our journey impossible, with the help of your prayers we may soon obtain our desire; and finding you at your fireside we may in all leisure be filled with the great treasures of your wisdom.

LETTER XXVIII

To the Church of Neocaesarea, consolatory[1]

That which has befallen you called for our presence, that we might both join with you, our dearly beloved friends, in doing honour to the blessed dead, and share, through the very act of gazing upon your sorrowing countenances, the dejection caused by your calamity, and also that we might participate in making the necessary plans for you. But since many causes prevented my being with you in person,

of Neocaesarea. In Letter CCX, addressed to the notables of Neocaesarea, Basil speaks of "the blessed Musonius, whose teaching still rings in your ears."

διακωλύοντα, λειπόμενον ἦν διὰ τοῦ γράμματος κοινωνεῖν ὑμῖν τῶν παρόντων.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς θαύματα, ἐφ' οἷς καὶ μάλιστα τὴν ζημίαν ἡμῖν ἀφόρητον ὑπάρχειν λογιζόμεθα,[1] οὔτ' ἂν ἐπιστολῆς μέτρον ὑποδέξαιτο, καὶ ἄλλως ἄωρον ἀνδραγαθημάτων πλήθει τὸν λόγον προσάγειν,[2] οὕτω συμπεπτωκυίας τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῇ λύπῃ. τί γὰρ τῶν ἐκείνου τοιοῦτον, οἷον ἢ τῆς μνήμης ἡμῶν ἐκπεσεῖν ἢ σιωπᾶσθαι ἄξιον νομισθῆναι; πάντα μὲν γὰρ ἀθρόως εἰσάπαξ εἰπεῖν ἀμήχανον, τὸ δὲ ἐκ μέρους λέγειν, δέδοικα μὴ προδοσίαν ἔχῃ τῆς ἀληθείας. οἴχεται ἀνὴρ διαφανέστατα δὴ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις[3] ὑπερενεγκὼν[4] ἀγαθοῖς, ἔρεισμα πατρίδος, ἐκκλησίων κόσμος, στῦλος καὶ ἑδραίωμα τῆς ἀληθείας, στερέωμα τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως, οἰκείοις ἀσφάλεια, δυσμαχώτατος τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις, φύλαξ πατρῴων θεσμῶν, νεωτεροποιίας ἐχθρός· ἐν ἑαυτῷ δεικνὺς τὸ παλαιὸν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας σχῆμα, οἷον ἀπό τινος ἱεροπρεποῦς εἰκόνος, τῆς ἀρχαίας καταστάσεως, τὸ εἶδος τῆς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐκκλησίας διαμορφῶν, ὥστε τοὺς αὐτῷ συγγενομένους τοῖς πρὸ διακοσίων ἐτῶν καὶ ἐπέκεινα φωστήρων τρόπον ἐκλάμψασι συγγεγονέναι δοκεῖν.

Οὕτως οὐδὲν οἴκοθεν οὐδὲ νεωτέρας φρενὸς εὕρημα προέφερεν ὁ ἀνήρ, ἀλλά, κατὰ τὴν Μωϋσέως[5] εὐλογίαν, ᾔδει προκομίζειν ἐκ τῶν ἀδύτων τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ ἀγαθῶν[6] θησαυρῶν

[1] λογίζεσθαι editi; λογιζόμεθα A, B, C, D, F.
[2] προάγειν A, B. [3] ἀνθρώποις B. [4] ὑπενεγκὼν B, E.

the only recourse left me was to share your present troubles by letter.

Now this man's wonderful qualities, which more than all else cause us to judge his loss unendurable, cannot be contained within the compass of a letter, and besides it would be untimely now, when our souls are so prostrate with grief, to undertake to enumerate his many noble achievements. For which of his deeds is such as either to slip from our memory or to be deemed worthy of silence? To recount them all together were impossible, yet to mention a portion would, I fear, be disloyal to the truth. A man has passed away who was quite manifestly far superior to his contemporaries in the sum total of human virtues; a bulwark of his native land, an ornament of the churches, a pillar and foundation of the truth, a firm support of the faith of Christ, a steadfast helper for his friends, a most formidable foe for his enemies, a guardian of the ordinances of the Fathers, an enemy of innovation; in his own person he showed forth the ancient character of the Church, so moulding on the model of the early organization, as after a sacred image, the form of the church under his charge, that those who were of his society seemed to live in the society of those who shone like stars two hundred years and more ago.

Thus it was that our friend produced nothing of his own, no discovery of modern thought, but, in accordance with the Lord's blessing of Moses, he knew how to bring forth out of the hidden and goodly treasures of his heart "the oldest of the old store,

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[5] Μωσέως A, B, C, D, F. [6] ἀγαθῶν om. E.

παλαιὰ παλαιῶν καὶ παλαιὰ ἀπὸ προσώπου νέων. ταύτῃ τοι καὶ τῆς προτιμήσεως οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐν τοῖς συλλόγοις τῶν ὁμοτίμων ἠξιοῦτο, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ πάντας ἦν τῷ τῆς σοφίας ἀρχαίῳ, ἐκ κοινῆς συγχωρήσεως τὸ πρωτεῖον καρπούμενος. ὅσον δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀγωγῆς τὸ κέρδος οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐπιζητήσειε, πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀποβλέπων. μόνοι γὰρ ὧν ἴσμεν, ἢ κομιδῇ γε ἐν[1] *ὀλίγοις, ἐν χειμῶνι τοσούτῳ καὶ λαίλαπι πραγμάτων ἀκύμαντον τῇ ἐκείνου κυβερνήσει τὴν ζωὴν διηγάγετε. οὐ γὰρ ἥψατο ὑμῶν αἱρετικῶν πνευμάτων ζάλη, καταποντισμοὺς ἐπάγουσα καὶ ναυάγια ταῖς εὐπεριτρέπτοις ψυχαῖς. μήτε δὲ ἅψαιτό ποτε, ὦ Δέσποτα τῶν ἁπάντων, ὃς τῷ σῷ θεράποντι Γρηγορίῳ, τῷ ἐξ ἀρχῆς πηξαμένῳ τὴν κρηπῖδα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, τῆς ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἀταραξίας*[2] *τὴν χάριν ἔδωκας.*

Ἣν μὴ προδῶτε ὑμεῖς ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ· μηδὲ θρήνων ἀμετρίᾳ, καὶ τῷ ἐκδότους ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς λυπηροῖς ποιῆσαι, τοὺς τῶν ἀναγκαίων καιροὺς τοῖς ἐφεδρεύουσι πρόησθε. ἀλλ' εἰ δεῖ πάντως θρηνεῖν (ὥσπερ οὖν οὔ[3] *φημι, ἵνα μὴ ὁμοιωθῶμεν ἐν τούτῳ τοῖς μὴ ἔχουσιν ἐλπίδα), ὑμεῖς δέ, εἰ δοκεῖ, οἷόν τις χορὸς πενθήρης τὸν κορυφαῖον ἑαυτῶν προστησάμενοι, ἐμμελέστερον μετ' ἐκείνου τὸ συμβὰν ἀποκλαύσατε.*

Καίτοιγε εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐπ' ἐσχάτου γήρως[4]

[1] *σὺν* C, D, F.
[2] *ἀταξίας* B.
[3] *οὔ* om. A, B, C, D.
[4] *γήρους* B, C, D.

and the old in place of the new coming on."[1] Therefore he was thought worthy of precedence at the synods of his peers, not in accordance with his age in years; but he was placed above them all by reason of the age of his wisdom, and by common consent enjoyed the primacy among them. How great was the gain of such guidance no one would question, if he but looked upon you. For you alone of all I know, or at least you among a very few, have been able, amid this great storm and tempest of affairs, to pass your lives, thanks to his guidance, unshaken by the waves. For you have not been reached by buffets of the blasts of heresy, which lead to drowning and shipwreck for souls which are easily upset. And may this never happen, O Master of all, who didst grant the favour of long tranquillity to Thy servant Gregory,[2] who at the beginning laid firm the foundations of your church.

To this church, my friends, do you not at this present crisis prove false, nor, by immoderate lamentation and by abandoning yourselves to manifestations of grief, offer opportunity for constraint to those who lie in wait for your destruction. But if you must by all means lament (which indeed I do not admit, lest we be likened in this to those who have no hope),[3] do you, if so it seems best, like a funeral chorus select your leader, and in more harmonious strains bewail with him your loss.

And yet, even though he did not reach extreme

[1] Cf. Lev. 26, 10. *καὶ φάγεσθε παλαιὰ καὶ παλαιὰ παλαιῶν, καὶ παλαιὰ ἐκ προσώπου νέων ἐξοίσετε.* "You shall eat the oldest of the old store, and, new coming on, you shall cast away the old."

[2] Gregory Thaumaturgus.

[3] Cf. 1 Thess. 4, 12.

ἤλαυνεν ὁ ἀνήρ, ἀλλ' οὖν τοῦ γε χρόνου ἕνεκεν τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐπιστασίας οὐκ ἐνδεῶς εἶχε τοῦ βίου. τοῦ τε σώματος τοσοῦτον μετεῖχεν, ὅσον τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ καρτερὸν[1] ἐπὶ[2] ταῖς ἀλγηδόσιν αὐτοῦ δεικνύναι. τυχὸν δὲ ἄν τις ὑμῶν ὑπολάβοι ὅτι καὶ ὁ χρόνος αὔξησις συμπαθείας καὶ προσθήκη φίλτρου, οὐχὶ ἀφορμὴ κόρου τοῖς πειραθεῖσιν ἐγγίνεται,[3] ὥστε, ὅσῳ ἐν πλείονι χρόνῳ τῆς εὐεργεσίας πεπείρασθε, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον τῆς ἀπολείψεως ἐπαισθάνεσθε·[4] σώματος δὲ δικαίου καὶ σκιὰ τοῦ παντὸς ἀξία τοῖς εὐλαβέσι. καὶ εἴη γε πολλοὺς ὑμῶν ἐπὶ ταύτης εἶναι τῆς διανοίας· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀμελῶς ἔχειν τοῦ ἀνδρός φημι χρῆναι, ἀλλ' ἀνθρωπίνως συμβουλεύω τὸ λυπηρὸν διαφέρειν· ἐπεὶ ὅσα γέ ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ἀποκλαιομένους τὴν ζημίαν οὐδὲ ἐμὲ αὐτὸν διαφεύγει.

Σιωπᾷ μὲν γλῶττα ποταμοῖς ἴσα τὰς ἀκοὰς ἐπικλύζουσα· καρδίας δὲ βάθος οὐδενὶ τέως καταληπτόν, ὀνείρων ἀσθενέστερον ὅσα γε πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, διιπτάμενον οἴχεται. τίς ὀξύτερος[5] ἐκείνου προϊδέσθαι τὸ μέλλον; τίς ἐν οὕτω σταθερῷ καὶ παγίῳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἤθει, ἀστραπῆς τάχιον τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπελθεῖν ἱκανός; ὦ πόλις πολλοῖς μὲν ἤδη προειλημμένη πάθεσιν, ὑπ' οὐδενός γε μὴν οὕτως εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ καίρια τοῦ βίου ζημιωθεῖσα. νῦν ἀπήνθηκέ σοι[6] κόσμος ὁ κάλλιστος· ἐκκλησία δὲ μέμυκε, καὶ σκυθρωπάζουσι πανηγύρεις, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν συνέδριον τὸν

[1] καρτερικὸν F. [2] ἐν A, B, C, D, F.

[3] γίνεται A, B, C, D, F.

[4] Sic omnia MSS.; Ed. Ben. ἐπαισθάνεσθαι.

old age, still as regards the period of his authority over you there was no deficiency in his life. Of the body he partook long enough to reveal his soul's endurance in his moments of affliction. But perhaps someone among you may object and say that length of days means increase of fellow-feeling and augmentation of affection, and that no occasion of satiety arises in those who have had long experience of another, so that the longer you have experienced his kindness, the more sensible you are of its loss; but of the body of a righteous man even a shadow[1] is most precious in the eyes of the devout. And would that many of you were of this way of thinking; for though I do not myself assert that you should be unmindful of our friend, yet I counsel you to bear your grief as men should; since I myself also am not unaware of all that can be said by those who bewail their loss.

Silent is his tongue, which like a mighty torrent flooded our ears; his heart, whose depth has not hitherto been fathomed, now more unsubstantial than a dream, judged by human standards, has taken wings and fled. Who possessed a keener vision than he to foresee the future? Who, in spite of a habit of soul so calm and steadfast, could more swiftly than lightning dash into action? O city, that hath many times ere now been in the grasp of woes, yet never by any affliction hath been so stricken to the very vitals of its life! Now your fairest garland has faded; your church is hushed, your assemblies are sad of countenance, the sacred synod yearns for its

[1] *i.e.* even a short and fleeting life in the body.

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[5] *ὀξύτερον* editi; *ὀξύτερος* C, D, F. [6] *σου* E.

κορυφαῖον ἐπιποθεῖ· λόγοι δὲ μυστικοὶ τὸν ἐξηγητὴν ἀναμένουσιν, οἱ παῖδες τὸν πατέρα, οἱ πρεσβῦται τὸν ἡλικιώτην, οἱ ἐν τέλει τὸν ἔξαρχον, ὁ δῆμος τὸν προστάτην, οἱ βίου δεόμενοι τὸν τροφέα· πάντες αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ὀνομάτων ἀνακαλούμενοι, ἐπὶ οἰκείῳ πάθει, οἰκεῖον ἑαυτῷ[1] καὶ προσήκοντα ἕκαστος τὸν θρῆνον αἴρουσιν.[2]

Ἀλλὰ ποῦ μοι ὁ λόγος ὑφ' ἡδονῆς τῶν δακρύων ἐκφέρεται; οὐκ ἀνανήψομεν; οὐχ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν γενησόμεθα; οὐκ ἀποβλέψομεν[3] πρὸς τὸν κοινὸν Δεσπότην, ὃς ἕκαστον τῶν ἁγίων τῇ ἰδίᾳ γενεᾷ ἐπιτρέψας ὑπηρετήσασθαι, τοῖς καθήκουσι χρόνοις πρὸς ἑαυτὸν πάλιν ἀνεκαλέσατο; νῦν ἐν καιρῷ τῶν ἐκείνου φωνῶν ὑπομνήσθητε, ὃς ἐκκλησιάζων ὑμῖν[4] ἀεὶ διεστέλλετο, Βλέπετε, λέγων, τοὺς κύνας, βλέπετε τοὺς κακοὺς ἐργάτας. πολλοὶ οἱ κύνες. τί λέγω κύνες; λύκοι μὲν οὖν βαρεῖς, ἐν ἐπιφανείᾳ προβάτων τὸ δολερὸν ὑποκρύπτοντες, πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης τὸ Χριστοῦ ποίμνιον διασπῶσιν. οὓς φυλακτέον ὑμῖν, ἐγρηγορικοῦ τινὸς ποιμένος ἐπιστασίᾳ. ὃν ὑμέτερον μὲν αἰτῆσαι, φιλονεικίας πάσης καὶ φιλοπρωτίας τὰς ψυχὰς καθαρεύοντας, τοῦ Κυρίου δὲ ἀναδεῖξαι, ὃς ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου προστάτου τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑμῶν Γρηγορίου μέχρι τοῦ μακαρίου τούτου, ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλῳ προστιθεὶς καὶ συναρμόζων ἀεί, οἷον ἔκ τινος ἁρμοῦ λίθων πολυτελῶν, θαυμαστὸν οἷον κάλλος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑμῶν ἐχαρίσατο. ὥστε οὐδὲ τῶν ἐφεξῆς ἀπελπιστέον. οἶδε γὰρ Κύριος τοὺς ὄντας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀγάγοι ἂν[5]

[1] *αὐτῷ* editi; *ἑαυτῷ* E. [2] *ἐροῦσιν* A, B, C, D, F.

leader; the mystic words await their expounder, the children their father, the elders their comrade, those in authority their chief, the people their protector, those who lack sustenance their nourisher; as they all call him back by the names most appropriate to each, to help them each in their own distress, they raise each his own lament in terms fitting to himself.

But whither is my speech swept from its course through indulgence in these tears? Shall we not return to sobriety of mind? Shall we not recover our self-control? Shall we not fix our gaze upon our common Lord, who suffers each of His saints to serve his generation, and then at the fitting moment calls him back again to Himself? Remember now in season the words of him who as he preached used always expressly to command you, saying: "Beware of dogs, beware of evil workers."[1] The dogs are many. Why do I say dogs? Nay, rather ravenous wolves who hide their deceit under the guise of sheep, and everywhere in the world scatter Christ's flock. Against these you must guard, under the care of a watchful shepherd. For him it is yours to petition, purging your souls of all rivalry and ambition for preferment, but to point him out is the Lord's part, who, beginning with Gregory, the great leader of your church, down to the present blessed departed one, has added one to the other, ever fitting them together like costly gems to a setting, and thus has graciously blessed you with the marvellous beauty of your church. Therefore we must not despair of their successors, either. For the Lord knoweth who

[1] Phil. 3. 2.

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[3] ἀναβλέψομεν B, C. [4] ὑμῖν om. F. [5] ἂν om. E.

εἰς τὸ μέσον τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν τυχὸν οὐ προσδοκωμένους.

Πάλαι με θέλοντα τῶν λόγων παύσασθαι, ἡ ὀδύνη τῆς καρδίας οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει. ἀλλ' ἐπισκήπτω ὑμῖν πρὸς τῶν πατέρων, πρὸς τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως, πρὸς τοῦ μακαρίου τούτου, διαναστῆναι τὴν ψυχήν, οἰκεῖον ἕκαστον ἑαυτοῦ τὸ σπουδαζόμενον κρίναντα, καὶ τῆς ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκβάσεως πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἀπολαύσειν ἡγούμενον· μηδέ, τὸ τοῖς πολλοῖς συμβαῖνον, πρὸς τὸν πλησίον τὴν τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμέλειαν ἀπωθεῖσθαι, εἶτα, ἑκάστου τῇ αὐτοῦ[1] διανοίᾳ τῶν πραγμάτων ὀλιγωροῦντος, λαθεῖν ἅπαντας ἴδιον ἑαυτοῖς κακὸν διὰ τῆς ἀμελείας ἐπισπασαμένους.

Ταῦτα εἴτε ὡς γειτόνων συμπάθεια, εἴτε ὡς ὁμοδοξούντων κοινωνία, εἴτε καί, ὅπερ ἀληθέστερόν ἐστι, τῷ τῆς ἀγάπης πειθομένων[2] νόμῳ καὶ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ σιωπῆσαι κίνδυνον ἐκκλινόντων, μετὰ πάσης εὐνοίας δέξασθε, πεπεισμένοι ὅτι καύχημα ἡμῶν ἐστέ, καθάπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν, εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ ὅτι, ἐκ τοῦ δοθησομένου ποιμένος ὑμῖν, ἢ[3] ἐπὶ πλέον τῷ συνδέσμῳ τῆς ἀγάπης ἑνωθησόμεθα, ἢ πρὸς παντελῆ διάστασιν· ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, μηδὲ[4] ἔσται τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς εἴποιμι νῦν βλάσφημον οὐδέν.[5] τοῦτο δὲ εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς βουλόμεθα, ὅτι εἰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν εἰρήνην τῶν ἐκκλησίων συντρέχοντα ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔσχομεν τὸν μακάριον, διά τινας, ὡς αὐτὸς ἡμῖν[6] διεβεβαιοῦτο,

[1] αὐτῇ A, B, C, D, E, F. [2] *πειθομένῳ* B, E.

are His, and will bring forward those whom we perhaps do not expect.

Although I have long been wishing to bring these words to an end, the grief of my heart does not permit me. But I charge you by the Fathers, by the true faith, by this one who has now gone to his rest, to arouse your souls, each one of you judging the business at hand to be his very own, and considering that, whatever the outcome of the matter shall be, each will himself primarily enjoy the benefits. Do not, as is usually the case, thrust the care of the common weal upon your neighbour, and then, as each one in his own thoughts makes light of the matter, all find to their surprise that they have drawn upon themselves through their neglect a personal misfortune.

Accept these words with all good-will, as a token either of neighbourly sympathy, or of the fellowship of men of like faith, or, more truly, of the fellowship of men who obey the law of love and shun the peril of silence; accept them in the conviction that you are our pride, as we likewise are yours, till the day of the Lord, and that on the shepherd to be given you depends whether we shall be united still more by the bond of love, or be brought to complete estrangement. May God forbid this last; and by the favour of God it will not be; nor would I myself now say anything obnoxious. Of this, however, we wish you to be assured, that even if we did not have our departed brother working with us for peace among the churches, because of what were, as he himself assured us, certain preconceptions, never-

[3] ἢ om. C, D.
[4] οὐδὲ A, B, C, D.
[5] οὐδὲ ἓν A, B, C, D.
[6] ἡμᾶς A, B, F.

προλήψεις, ἀλλ' οὖν γε τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμοδοξίας καὶ τοῦ ἀεὶ κοινωνὸν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τῶν πρὸς τοὺς αἱρετικοὺς ἀγώνων, ὑπὸ μάρτυρι τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις τοῖς πεπειραμένοις ἡμῶν, οὐδένα καιρὸν ἀπελείφθημεν.

XXIX

Τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Ἀγκύρας παραμυθητική

Πολὺν ἡμῖν χρόνον σιωπὴν ἐνεποίησεν ἡ ἔκπληξις τῆς βαρυτάτης ἀγγελίας τοῦ συμβάντος κακοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ μικρόν πως τῆς ἀφασίας ἀνηνέγκαμεν, ἥν, ὡς οἱ βροντῇ μεγάλῃ τὰς ἀκοὰς καταπλαγέντες,[1] πεπόνθαμεν, ἀναγκαίως νῦν ἐπεστενάξαμεν τῷ συμβάντι, καὶ μεταξὺ ὀδυρόμενοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὑμῖν ἐξεπέμψαμεν· οὐ παρακλήσεως ἕνεκεν (τίς γὰρ ἂν καὶ λόγος εὑρεθείη τοσαύτης συμφορᾶς ἰατρός;), ἀλλὰ τὴν ὀδύνην τῆς καρδίας ἡμῶν, καθ' ὅσον δυνατόν, ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης ὑμῖν διασημαίνοντες. νῦν ἐδεόμην τῶν Ἱερεμίου θρήνων, καὶ εἰ δή τις ἄλλος τῶν μακαρίων ἀνδρῶν συμφορᾶς μέγεθος[2] ἐμπαθῶς ἀπωδύρατο.

Πέπτωκεν ἀνήρ, στῦλος τῷ ὄντι καὶ ἑδραίωμα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας·[3] μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν πρὸς τὴν μακαρίαν ζωὴν ἀρθεὶς ἀφ' ἡμῶν οἴχεται· κίνδυνος δὲ οὐ μικρός, μὴ[4] πολλοὶ τῷ ἐρείσματι τούτῳ ὑπ-

[1] ἐκπλαγέντες A, B, C, D.
[2] συμφορὰς μεγίστας C, D.
[3] Ἐκκλησίας] ἀληθείας C, D.
[4] μήποτε F.

theless on no occasion did we fail of unity of belief with him or neglect to summon his help in our struggles against the heretics; God be our witness, and the men who know us.

LETTER XXIX

To the Church of Ancyra, consolatory [1]

The shock of the most grievous tidings of the misfortune which has befallen you has kept us silent for some time. But now that we have recovered in some slight measure from the speechlessness with which we have been affected, like those who are smitten with deafness by a loud clap of thunder, we cannot help uttering a cry of sorrow over the event, and in the midst of our lamentations sending you this letter. We write not so much to console (for what words could be found to heal so great a misfortune?), but to show you by this message, so far as it is possible to do so, the distress of our own heart. I am in need now of the lamentations of Jeremias, or of some other blessed man who has passionately bemoaned a mighty misfortune.

A man has fallen, who was in truth a pillar and foundation of the Church; or rather, as far as he himself is concerned, he has been lifted up to a life of bliss and has gone from us; but there is no little danger that many will fall together with this support

[1] Written in the spring of 368; cf. Schäfer, *loc. cit.* On the consolation, cf. Letters XXIV and XXV. The occasion of this letter is the death of Athanasius, Bishop of Ancyra.

ἐξαιρεθέντι συγκαταπέσωσι, καὶ τὰ σαθρά τινων φανερὰ γένηται. κέκλεισται στόμα παῤῥησίας τε δικαίας καὶ λόγους[1] χάριτος ἐπ' οἰκοδομῇ τῆς ἀδελφότητος βρύον. οἴχεται δὲ φρενὸς βουλεύματα, τῆς ὄντως ἐν Θεῷ κινουμένης. ὦ ποσάκις μοι (κατηγορήσω γὰρ ἐμαυτοῦ) ἐπῆλθεν ἀγανακτῆσαι κατὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὅτι ὅλος[2] γενόμενος τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ ἀναλῦσαι[3] καὶ σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι, τὸ ἐπιμεῖναι ἐν[4] τῇ σαρκὶ οὐ προετίμησε δι' ἡμᾶς. πρὸς τίνα λοιπὸν τὰς φροντίδας τῶν ἐκκλησίων[5] ὑπερθώμεθα; τίνα κοινωνὸν τῶν λυπηρῶν λάβωμεν; τίνα μεριστὴν τῆς εὐφροσύνης; ὦ τῆς δεινῆς ὄντως καὶ σκυθρωπῆς ἐρημίας. πῶς ἀκριβῶς ὡμοιώθημεν πελεκᾶνι ἐρημικῷ;

Ἀλλὰ μὴν τά γε συναφθέντα μέλη τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, οἷον ὑπὸ ψυχῆς τινός, τῆς ἐκείνου προστασίας, εἰς μίαν συμπάθειαν καὶ ἀκριβῆ κοινωνίαν συναρμοσθέντα, καὶ φυλάσσεται διὰ τοῦ συνδέσμου τῆς εἰρήνης πρὸς τὴν πνευματικὴν ἁρμολογίαν παγίως, καὶ φυλαχθήσεται εἰς ἀεί,[6] τοῦτο τοῦ Θεοῦ χαριζομένου, ἑδραῖα μένειν καὶ ἀμετακίνητα τῆς μακαρίας ἐκείνης ψυχῆς τὰ ἔργα, ὅσα ἐνήθλησε ταῖς Ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ. πλὴν ἀλλ' ὁ ἀγὼν οὐ μικρός, μή τινες πάλιν

[1] λόγοις A, B, E, F.
[2] Sic omnia MSS.; ὅλως editi.
[3] ἀναχωρῆσαι F.
[4] ἐν om. E, F.
[5] ἐκκλησιαστικῶν A, B.
[6] εἰσαεί D.

which has been taken from under them, and that the rottenness of certain persons will be laid bare. A mouth has been sealed which abounded in righteous frankness and gushed forth words of grace for the edification of the brotherhood. Gone are the counsels of a mind which truly moved in God. Alas! how often (for I shall accuse myself) have I been moved to indignation against our friend, because, in the desire which came to possess him "to be dissolved and to be with Christ," he did not prefer, for our sakes, "to abide still in the flesh!"[1] To whom shall we now transfer the cares of the churches? Whom now shall I take as a partner in my sorrows? Whom as a sharer in my joy? Alas for my loneliness, truly wretched and sad! How precisely is our state like that of the pelican of the wilderness![2]

Yet assuredly the limbs of the Church knitted together by his superintendence as by a soul, and joined into a union of sympathy and true fellowship, are not only steadfastly preserved by the bond of peace for the spiritual communion, but will also be preserved for ever, if God will grant us this boon—that all the works of this blessed soul, wherein he laboured for God's churches, may rest firm and unshaken And yet the struggle is not slight, that

[1] Cf. Phil. 1. 23 and 24: *καὶ τί αἱρήσομαι, οὐ γνωρίζω· συνέχομαι γὰρ ἐκ τῶν δύο, τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχων εἰς τὸ ἀναλῦσαι, καὶ σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι, πολλῷ μᾶλλον κρεῖσσον· τὸ δὲ ἐπιμένειν ἐν τῇ σαρκί, ἀναγκαιότερον δι' ὑμᾶς.* "And what I shall choose I know not. But I am straitened between two: having a desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ, a thing by far the better. But to abide still in the flesh is needful for you."

[2] Cf. Psal. 102. 6.

ἔριδες[1] καὶ διχοστασίαι, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τοῦ προστατοῦντος[2] ἀναφυεῖσαι, πάντα ὁμοῦ τὸν κόπον ἐκ τῆς τυχούσης ἔριδος ἀνατρέψωσιν.

XXX

Εὐσεβίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Σαμοσάτων

Εἰ πάσας ἐφεξῆς γράφοιμι τὰς αἰτίας ὑφ᾽ ὧν μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος κατεσχέθην, καὶ πάνυ ὡρμημένος πρὸς τὴν σὴν θεοσέβειαν, ἱστορίας ἂν μῆκος ἀπέραντον ἐκπληρώσαιμι. νόσους μὲν ἐπαλλήλους, καὶ χειμῶνος ἐπάχθειαν, καὶ πραγμάτων συνοχὴν παρίημι λέγειν, γνώριμα ὄντα καὶ ἤδη προδεδηλωμένα τῇ τελειότητί σου. νῦν δὲ καὶ ἣν μόνην εἶχον τοῦ βίου παραμυθίαν τὴν μητέρα, καὶ ταύτην ἀφῃρέθην ὑπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτίων μου.[3] καὶ μὴ καταγελάσῃς μου ὡς ἐν τούτῳ τῆς ἡλικίας ὀρφανίαν ἀποδυρομένου·[4] ἀλλὰ σύγγνωθί μοι ψυχῆς χωρισμὸν ἀνεκτῶς μὴ φέροντι, ἧς οὐδὲν ἀντάξιον ἐν τοῖς λειπομένοις[5] ὁρῶ. πάλιν οὖν μοι ὑπέστρεψε τὰ ἀῤῥωστήματα, καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ κλίνης κατάκειμαι, ἐπὶ μικρᾶς[6] παντελῶς τῆς δυνάμεως σαλεύων, καὶ μόνον οὐκ[7] ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστης ὥρας τὸ ἀναγκαῖον πέρας τῆς ζωῆς ἐκδεχόμενος.

Αἱ δὲ ἐκκλησίαι σχεδόν τι παραπλησίως τῷ σώματί μου διάκεινται· ἀγαθῆς μὲν ἐλπίδος οὐδε-

[1] ἔρις E. [2] μεταστάντος C, D.
[3] μου om. C, D, F. [4] ὀδυρομένου C, D.

we may prevent the springing up again, over the election of a superintendent, of strifes and dissensions, and the utter overturning, as the result of a petty quarrel, of all our labours.

LETTER XXX

To Eusebius, Bishop of Samosata [1]

If I should relate at length all the reasons for my having been hitherto detained at home, altogether eager as I am to set out to see your reverence, I should traverse an interminable length of narrative. I pass over a succession of bodily ills, a tedious winter, vexatious affairs of business, all of which are known and have previously been explained to your excellency. And now, as the result of my sins, I have been bereft of the only solace that I possessed, my mother.[2] Pray do not deride me for bewailing my orphanhood at this time of life, but forgive me for not having the patience to endure separation from a soul whose like I do not behold among those who are left behind. My ill-health has now returned again, and again I lie on my bed, tossing about on the anchorage of my little remaining strength and ready at almost every hour to accept the inevitable end of life.

The churches exhibit a condition almost like that of my body: for no ground of good hope comes into

[1] Written in the summer of 368; cf. Schäfer, *loc. cit.*
[2] St Emmelia. For Basil's family, see Introd., p. xiii.

[5] *λιπομένοις* C, D. [6] *μακρᾶς* E.
[7] *μονονουχὶ* C, D.

μιᾶς ὑποφαινομένης, ἀεὶ δὲ πρὸ τὸ χεῖρον τῶν πραγμάτων ὑποῤῥεόντων. τέως δὲ ἡ Νεοκαισάρεια καὶ ἡ Ἀγκύρα ἔδοξαν ἔχειν διαδόχους τῶν ἀπελθόντων, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἡσυχάζουσιν. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ [1] ἡμῖν οἱ ἐπιβουλεύοντες ποιῆσαί τι τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ τῆς πικρίας ἄξιον μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος συνεχωρήθησαν. καὶ τούτου τὴν αἰτίαν ταῖς σαῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν πρεσβείαις προδήλως ἡμεῖς ἀνατίθεμεν. ὥστε μὴ ἀποκάμῃς προσευχόμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ δυσωπῶν τὸν Θεόν. τοὺς καταξιωθέντας ἐξυπηρετεῖσθαι τῇ ὁσιότητί σου πάμπολλα πρόσειπε.

XXXI

Εὐσεβίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Σαμοσάτων [2]

Οὔπω ἡμᾶς ὁ λιμὸς ἀνῆκε, διόπερ ἀναγκαία ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπὶ [3] τῆς πόλεως διαγωγή, ἢ οἰκονομίας ἕνεκεν, ἢ συμπαθείας τῶν θλιβομένων. ὅθεν οὐδὲ νῦν ἠδυνήθην κοινωνῆσαι τῆς ὁδοῦ τῷ αἰδεσιμωτάτῳ ἀδελφῷ Ὑπατίῳ, ὃν οὐκ αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο εὐφημίας ἕνεκεν ἀδελφὸν ἔχω προσαγορεύειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν προσοῦσαν [4] ἡμῖν ἐκ φύσεως οἰκειότητα· αἵματος γάρ ἐσμεν τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Ὃς ὁποῖα μὲν κάμνει, οὐδὲ τὴν σὴν ἔλαθε

[1] οὐδὲν E, F. [2] Εὐσεβωνᾶ ἐπισκόπῳ A, B, C, D, E, F.
[3] περὶ E. [4] ὑποῦσαν A, B, C, D.

[1] *i.e.* Basil and his church.
[2] Written in the autumn of 368; cf. Schäfer, *loc. cit.*
[3] Cf. Letter XCI, where the Eastern bishops number

view, and their affairs are constantly drifting toward the worse. Meanwhile Neocaesarea and Ancyra seem to have received successors to those who have passed away, and thus far they have remained quiet. Nay, neither have those who plot against us[1] so far succeeded in accomplishing anything worthy of their wrath and bitterness. And the reason for this we frankly attribute to your intercession in behalf of the churches. Therefore do not grow weary of praying for the churches and of importuning God. To those who have been deemed worthy to serve your holiness give many greetings.

LETTER XXXI

To Eusebius, Bishop of Samosata[2]

The famine has not yet released us, so that it is incumbent upon me to linger on in the city, partly to attend to distribution of aid,[3] and partly out of sympathy for the afflicted. Consequently not even now am I able to accompany on his journey our most revered brother Hypatius,[4] whom I am entitled to address as brother not merely by way of conventional salutation, but on account of the natural relationship which exists between us; for we are of the same blood.

Your honour also is aware of the nature of the

among the evils of their churches that unscrupulous officials appropriate for their own use funds intended for the poor.

[4] Nothing is known of this Hypatius. Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, Letter CXCII, addressed to a correspondent of the same name.

τιμιότητα. λυπεῖ δὲ ἡμᾶς ὅτι πᾶσα παραμυθίας ἐλπὶς ἐπ' αὐτῷ περικέκοπται, τῶν ἐχόντων τὰ τῆς ἰάσεως χαρίσματα οὐδὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν συνήθων ἐνεργῆσαι συγχωρηθέντων. διὸ πάλιν τῶν σῶν προσευχῶν τὴν βοήθειαν ἐπικαλεῖται. σὺ δὲ τὰ συνήθη προστῆναι, καὶ διὰ τὴν σεαυτοῦ περὶ τοὺς κάμνοντας εὐσπλαγχνίαν, καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρεσβεύοντας, παρακλήθητι, καί, εἰ μὲν οἷόν τε, πρὸς ἑαυτὸν[1] μεταστεῖλαι τοὺς εὐλαβεστάτους[2] τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ὥστε ὑπὸ ταῖς σαῖς ὄψεσι προσαχθῆναι αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀδύνατον, μετὰ γραμμάτων αὐτὸν προπέμψαι καὶ συστῆσαι τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν καταξίωσον.

XXXII

Σωφρονίῳ μαγίστρῳ[3]

Ἀπολαύει τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ ὁ θεοφιλέστατος ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγόριος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος· ὀδυναται γὰρ μετὰ πάντων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπηρείαις ἀλλεπαλλήλοις,[4] ὥσπερ τισὶ πληγαῖς ἀπροσδοκήτοις, τυπτόμενος. ἄνθρωποι γὰρ μὴ φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεόν,

[1] σεαυτὸν F. [2] corrected to εὐσεβεστάτους alia manu F.
[3] διὰ Γρηγόριον ἐπίσκοπον add. C. [4] ἐπαλλήλοις C, D.

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[1] Written in 369. This Sophronius, a native of Cappadocian Caesarea, was an early friend and fellow-student of both Basil and Gregory Nazianzenus while at Athens. He entered the Civil Service, and soon rose to high office. In A.D. 365 he was appointed Prefect of Constantinople, as a reward for warning the Emperor Valens of the attempted usurpation by Procopius; cf. Amm. Marc. xxv. 9. He is

malady of this Hypatius. It grieves us that all hope of comfort for him is cut off, for those who possess the divine gifts of healing have not been permitted to apply any of the customary cures in his case. Therefore he again calls upon you for the aid of your prayers. May I entreat you to intercede for him in your usual manner, both on account of your own kindness of heart towards all who are in trouble, and on account of us who intercede in his behalf; and, if it is possible, be pleased to summon the most pious of the brethren to your presence, that their treatment may be applied to him under your eyes; but if this is impossible, consent to send him on his way with a letter and to recommend him to those ahead.

LETTER XXXII

To Sophronius, the Master[1]

Our brother Gregory, the bishop,[2] most beloved of God, is getting the benefit of these times; for he like everybody else is distressed by the acts of insolence upon insolence with which he is constantly smitten, as it were by unexpected blows. For men who are without fear of God, and are probably also

known chiefly from the letters of Gregory and Basil, invoking his good offices for various persons; cf. Letters LXXVI, XCVI, CLXXVII, CLXXX, CXCII, and CCLXXII; also Greg. Naz. Letters XXI, XXII, XXIX, XXXVII, XXXIX, XCIII, CXXXV.

[2] Gregory of Nazianzus is meant here. He was not a bishop at this time; and Maran suggests that ὁ ἐπίσκοπος is a marginal gloss crept into the text. Gregory the Elder cannot be meant here, because he did not adopt the monastic life.

τάχα που καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν κακῶν βιαζόμενοι, ἐπηρεάζουσιν αὐτῷ ὡς χρήματα Καισαρίου παρ' αὐτῶν εἰληφότος.

Καὶ οὐ τὸ τῆς ζημίας βαρύ, πάλαι γὰρ ἔμαθε χρημάτων ὑπερορᾷν· ἀλλ' ὅτι μικρὰ παντελῶς δεξάμενοι τῶν ἐκείνου, διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ οἰκέταις αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τὸν βίον καὶ ἀνθρώποις οὐδὲν οἰκετῶν αἱρετωτέροις τὸν τρόπον, οἱ κατὰ πολλὴν ἄδειαν τὰ πλείστου ἄξια διανειμάμενοι ἐλάχιστα παντελῶς ἀπέσωσαν τούτοις· ἃ νομίζοντες μηδενὶ ὑποκεῖσθαι, εὐθὺς ἀνάλωσαν εἰς τοὺς δεομένους, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν προαίρεσιν καὶ διὰ τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ κατοιχομένου. λέγεται γὰρ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν ἀποθνήσκων, ὅτι τὰ ἐμὰ πάντα βούλομαι γενέσθαι τῶν πτωχῶν. ὡς οὖν διάκονοι τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ Καισαρίου,[1] εὐθὺς αὐτὰ ᾠκονόμησαν συμφερόντως. καὶ νῦν περιέστηκε πενία μὲν Χριστιανοῦ, πολυπραγμοσύνη δὲ τῶν ἀγοραίων ἑνός. διὸ ἐπῆλθε τῇ πάντα ἐπαινετῇ σου καλοκἀγαθίᾳ δηλῶσαι, ἵνα καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τιμῶν, ὃν ἐκ παλαιοῦ γνωρίζεις, καὶ τὸν κύριον δοξάζων τὸν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀναδεχόμενον τὰ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ γινόμενα, καὶ ἡμᾶς τιμῶν τοὺς ἐξαιρέτους σεαυτοῦ,[2] καὶ διαλεχθῇς τῷ Κόμητι τῶν θησαυρῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ εἰκότα, καὶ

[1] Κυρίου A, B, C, D, E; χριστοῦ F.
[2] ἑαυτοῦ E.

[1] Gregory's brother; cf. Letter XXVI. Caesarius had died shortly before, bequeathing all his property to the poor, and leaving Gregory as executor. His house, however, was looted by his servants, and his brother could find but a comparatively small amount of money. Furthermore, a number of persons, shortly afterwards, presented themselves as creditors of his estate; and their claims, though incapable

under the compulsion of a multitude of evils, insolently abuse him on the ground that Caesarius[1] borrowed money from them.

Now the loss of the money is no serious matter, for he learnt long ago to disregard wealth; but the fact is that the executors received very little of Caesarius's wealth, because his estate got into the control of slaves and men no better than slaves in character; and the executors then distributed the most valuable effects under full authority to do so, and reserved very little indeed for these men; and since they considered that this little was not pledged to anyone, they immediately distributed it among the needy, both according to their own preference and in accordance with the words of the departed. For he is reported to have said on his death-bed, "I wish all my possessions to belong to the poor." Therefore, as ministers of Caesarius's behest, they immediately bestowed these possessions in alms, as was expedient. And now we have this outcome—a Christian's poverty, on the one hand, and, on the other, the busy haggling of a market-lounger.[2] I bethought me, accordingly, of disclosing the matter to that noble heart of yours so worthy of all praise, that honouring this man, whom you have known from of old, glorifying the Lord, who accepts as done to Himself what is done to His servants, and honouring us your chosen friend, you might tell the Prefect of the Treasury what may reasonably be said concerning Gregory, and

of proof, were paid. Others, however, kept coming forward, until at last no more were admitted. Then a lawsuit was threatened. Disliking all this, Basil writes this letter to Sophronius seeking his aid. Cf. Greg. Naz. Letter XXIX.

[2] *i.e.* Gregory the priest must deal with creditors and claimants.

τρόπον ἐπινοήσῃς,[1] τῇ μεγάλῃ σαυτοῦ συνέσει, ἀπαλλαγῆς τῶν ἐφυβρίστων[2] τούτων καὶ ἀφορήτων ὀχλήσεων.

Πάντως δὲ οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἀγνοεῖ τὸν ἄνδρα, ὥστε περὶ αὐτοῦ τι τῶν ἀπρεπῶν ὑπολαβεῖν, ὡς ἄρα τῶν χρημάτων περιεχόμενος σχηματίζεται τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἐγγύθεν γὰρ τῆς ἐλευθεριότητος αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀπόδειξις· ἡδέως ἐξίσταται τῶν λειψάνων τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ τῷ ταμιείῳ· ὥστε ὑποδεχθῆναι μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν, τὸν δὲ συνήγορον τοῦ ταμιείου λέγοντα πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιφυομένους καὶ ἀπαιτεῖν τὰς ἀποδείξεις, διὰ τὸ ἡμέτερον πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀνεπιτήδειον. ἔξεστι γὰρ μαθεῖν τῇ τελειότητί σου, ὅτι ἕως ἐξῆν, οὐδεὶς ἀπῆλθεν ἀποτυχὼν ὧν ἐβούλετο, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπιζητούμενον ἀπονητὶ ἕκαστος ἐκομίσατο, ὥστε καὶ μεταμέλειν τοῖς πολλοῖς διότι μὴ πλέον ᾔτησαν ἀπ'[3] ἀρχῆς. ὃ καὶ μάλιστα πολλοὺς ἐποίησε τοὺς ἐπηρεαστάς· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ τῶν προλαβόντων ὑπόδειγμα ἀφορῶντες, ἄλλος ἄλλον διαδέχεται συκοφαντῶν.

Πρὸς οὖν ταῦτα πάντα τὴν σὴν σεμνότητα[4] παρακαλοῦμεν στῆναι, καὶ ὥσπερ τι ῥεῦμα ἐπισχεῖν καὶ διακόψαι τῶν κακῶν τὴν συνέχειαν. οἶδας δὲ ὅπως βοηθήσεις τῷ πράγματι, ὥστε μὴ ἀναμένειν[5] παρ' ἡμῶν διδαχθῆναι τὸν τρόπον, οἳ δι' ἀπειρίαν τῶν τοῦ βίου πραγμάτων, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀγνοοῦμεν, πῶς ἂν γένοιτο ἡμῖν τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς τυχεῖν. καὶ σύμβουλος οὖν καὶ προστάτης

may, by your great sagacity, devise a means of relief from these insolent and intolerable annoyances.

Surely no one is so ignorant of Gregory as to suspect him of unseemly conduct, saying that he so clings to his money that he invents all these stories. Indeed, the proof of his liberality is at our own door: he has gladly relinquished the remnant of Caesarius's estate to the Treasury; so that this estate has now been received, and it is now the counsel of the Treasurer that, dealing with the parasites that cling to Gregory, is demanding their proofs, in view of the unfitness of men of our class for such business. For your excellency should be informed that, while it was possible, none of these people departed disappointed in his wishes; on the contrary, everyone obtained what he demanded without any trouble, so that the majority are actually sorry that they did not ask for more in the first place. In fact, it was chiefly this practice that multiplied the number of these insolent men; for with their eyes on the example of the already successful applicants, one false claimant succeeded another.

It is against all these things, therefore, that we beg your august reverence to take a stand, and first to check and then to stop altogether this succession of troubles, which flows on like a river. You know how you can help the situation, so that you need not wait to be informed of the method by us; for we, through our inexperience of worldly affairs, are ignorant in just this matter also—of how we are to find relief. So become yourself both our adviser and

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[1] ἐπινοήσας F. [2] ἐνυβρίστων E.
[3] ἐξ E, F. [4] σεμνοπρέπειαν E.
[5] ἀναμεῖναι E.

αὐτὸς γενοῦ, τὸ εἶδος τῆς βοηθείας διὰ τῆς μεγάλης σεαυτοῦ φρονήσεως ἐξευρών.[1]

XXXIII

Ἀβουργίῳ [2]

Καὶ τίς οὕτω παλαιὰν ἑταιρείαν οἶδε τιμᾶν, καὶ ἀρετὴν αἰδεῖσθαι, καὶ κάμνουσι συναλγεῖν, ὡς αὐτὸς σύ; ἐπεὶ οὖν τὸν θεοφιλέστατον ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν Γρηγόριον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον κατέλαβε πράγματα, οὔτε ἄλλως φορητὰ καὶ μάλιστα τῷ ἤθει αὐτοῦ ὑπεναντία, ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν κράτιστον εἶναι ἐπὶ τὴν σὴν καταφυγεῖν προστασίαν καὶ παρὰ σοῦ τινὰ πειραθῆναι[3] εὑρέσθαι λύσιν τῶν συμφορῶν.[4] συμφορὰ γάρ ἐστιν ἀφόρητος πράγματα ἀναγκάζεσθαι λέγειν τὸν μὴ πεφυκότα μηδὲ βουλόμενον, καὶ χρήματα ἀπαιτεῖσθαι τὸν πένητα, καὶ ἕλκεσθαι εἰς τὸ μέσον καὶ δημοκοπεῖσθαι τὸν πάλαι δι᾽ ἡσυχίας τὸν βίον παρελθεῖν κρίναντα. εἴτε οὖν τῷ Κόμητι τῶν θησαυρῶν διαλεχθῆναι χρήσιμον εἶναι κρίνεις εἴτε τισὶν ἑτέροις, τῆς σῆς ἂν εἴη συνέσεως.

[1] ἐξευρίσκων A, B, C, D.
[2] Ἀβουρτίῳ solus Vaticanus.
[3] πειραθῆναι om. A, B, C, D, E.
[4] συμφορῶν A, B, C, D, F; λυπηρῶν edd.

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[1] Written in 369. Aburgius was an influential lay compatriot of Basil's; cf. Letters XXXIII, LXXV, CXLVII,

our protector, and by means of your great wisdom discover the right form of help.

LETTER XXXIII

To Aburgius[1]

And who knows how to honour an old friendship, to revere virtue, and to sympathize with those who labour, so well as yourself? Accordingly, since our brother Gregory[2] the bishop, most beloved of God, is involved in difficulties, which in any case would be intolerable and are particularly uncongenial to a man of his character, we have decided that it is best to take refuge in your protection and to try and find in you some relief from his misfortunes. For it is an intolerable calamity that one so disinclined by nature or desire should be compelled to plead in cases at law, and that one vowed to poverty should be dunned for money, and that one who long ago determined to pass his life in seclusion should be dragged into the open and be practised upon by demagogues. Now whether it is the Prefect of the Treasury to whom in your judgment it would be useful to speak, or other officials, is a question that must depend upon your own wisdom to determine.

CLXXVIII, CCCIV, and CXCVI, the latter attributed also to Gregory Nazianzene.

[2] This Gregory is clearly Gregory of Nazianzus, mentioned in the previous letter, and not Basil's real brother. The difficulties referred to are also those described in the previous letter. The words τὸν ἐπίσκοπον have crept into the text from the margin.

XXXIV

Εὐσεβίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Σαμοσάτων [1]

Πῶς ἂν σιωπήσαιμεν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν; ἤ, τοῦτο καρτερεῖν μὴ δυνάμενοι, ἄξιόν τινα λόγον τῶν γινομένων εὕροιμεν, ὥστε μὴ στεναγμῷ προσεοικέναι τὴν φωνὴν ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ θρήνῳ τοῦ κακοῦ τὸ βάρος ἀρκούντως διασημαίνοντι; οἴχεται ἡμῖν καὶ ἡ Ταρσός. καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον δεινόν, καίπερ ἀφόρητον ὄν· ἔστι γὰρ τούτου χαλεπώτερον πόλιν τοσαύτην, οὕτως ἔχουσαν εὐκαιρίας,[2] ὥστε Ἰσαύρους καὶ Κίλικας, Καππαδόκας τε καὶ Σύρους δι' ἑαυτῆς συνάπτειν, ἑνὸς ἢ δυοῖν [3] ἀπονοίας ἀνθρώπων ὀλέθρου γενέσθαι πάρεργον, μελλόντων ὑμῶν [4] καὶ βουλευομένων καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀποσκοπούντων. κράτιστον οὖν, κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἰατρῶν ἐπίνοιαν (πάντως δέ μοι πολλὴ ἀφθονία, διὰ τὴν σύνοικον ἀῤῥωστίαν, τῶν τοιούτων παραδειγμάτων), οἳ ἐπειδὰν τὸ τῆς ὀδύνης μέγεθος ὑπερβάλῃ, ἀναισθησίαν τῶν πόνων [5] ἐπιτεχνῶνται τῷ κάμνοντι, καὶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις [6] αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς,

[1] Sic A, B. πρεσβύτερος ὢν διὰ τὴν Ταρσὸν ἐπιβουλευομένην (the writer being presbyter, on account of the plot against the see of Tarsus) add. C, D; Εὐσεβίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ πρεσβύτερος ὢν F; Εὐσεβίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ πρεσβῶν E.

[2] εὐκληρίας A, B, C, D, E, corr. from εὐκαιρίας F.

[3] δυεῖν E, F.

[4] ἡμῶν A, B, corr. from ὑμῶν alia m. F.

[5] τῶν πόνων] τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ C, D.

[6] ἡμῶν C, D.

LETTER XXXIV

To Eusebius, Bishop of Samosata[1]

How can we keep silent in the present state of affairs? Or, if we cannot endure it patiently, how can we find words adequate to what is happening, so that our utterances may not be like a groan, but like a lamentation, which gives sufficient evidence of the weight of one's misfortune? For us, Tarsus,[2] even Tarsus, is no more. And this is not the only terrible thing, intolerable though it is; for more grievous than this is the fact that so great a city, so opportunely situated as to include within its borders Isaurians and Cilicians, Cappadocians and Syrians, should be given over to destruction as an incident of the madness of one or two men, while you delayed and deliberated and gazed at one another! Now it would be an excellent thing if we should adopt the device of the physicians (and I certainly have a great abundance of illustrations of this kind, because of the illness from which I am never free); they, when their patients suffer excessive pain, contrive for them an anæsthetic to make them insensible of their sufferings; so we should all pray for some analgetic to render our

[1] Written in the autumn of 369; cf. Schäfer, *loc. cit.*, and Loofs, p. 50.

[2] Silvanus, Metropolitan of Tarsus, had died, and through the neglect of the bishops was succeeded by an Arian. However, the future did not prove to be as gloomy as was anticipated; most of the priests were firm in orthodoxy, and remained in friendly communication with Basil. Cf. Letters LXVII, CXIII, CXIV.

ὡς μὴ ταῖς φορήτοις ὀδύναις συνέχεσθαι, ἀναλγησίαν τῶν κακῶν συνεύξασθαι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτως ἀθλίως ἔχοντες, μιᾷ παραμυθίᾳ κεχρήμεθα, πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἀπιδεῖν ἡμερότητα, καὶ ἐκ τῆς σῆς ἐννοίας καὶ μνήμης πραῦναι τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ λυπούμενον. ὥσπερ γὰρ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἐπειδάν ποτε συντόνως τὰ λαμπρὰ καταβλέψωσι, φέρει τινὰ ῥᾳστώνην πρὸς τὰ κυανὰ καὶ χλοάζοντα τῶν χρωμάτων ἐπανελθεῖν, οὕτω καὶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις ψυχαῖς, οἷον[1] πραεῖά τις ἐπαφὴ τὸ ὀδυνηρὸν ἐξαιροῦσα, ἡ μνήμη τῆς σῆς πραότητος καὶ ἐμμελείας ἐστί· καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ἐνθυμηθῶμεν ὅτι τὸ κατὰ σεαυτὸν ἅπαν ἐπλήρωσας. ἐξ ὧν ἱκανῶς καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἐὰν εὐγνωμόνως τὰ πράγματα κρίνωμεν, ὡς οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς σῆς αἰτίας ἀπόλωλεν ἐνεδείξω, καὶ παρὰ Θεῷ τῆς τῶν καλῶν προθυμίας μέγαν σεαυτῷ τὸν μισθὸν κατεκτήσω. χαρίσαιτο δέ σε ἡμῖν καὶ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἐκκλησίαις ὁ Κύριος, ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τοῦ βίου καὶ διορθώσει τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ καταξιώσειε πάλιν τῆς ἐπωφελοῦς συντυχίας σου.

XXXV

Ἀνεπίγραφος, ὑπὲρ Λεοντίου

Περὶ πολλῶν μὲν ὡς διαφερόντων μοι ἐπέστειλά σοι, περὶ πλειόνων δὲ καὶ ἐπιστελῶ. οὔτε γὰρ τοὺς δεομένους ἐπιλιπεῖν δυνατόν, οὔτε ἡμᾶς ἀρνεῖσθαι τὴν χάριν οἷόν τε. οὐ μήν ἐστί τις

[1] οἷαν F.

souls insensible of their ills, so that we may not be afflicted with intolerable pains. However, though we are indeed wretched, we enjoy one single consolation—that we can contemplate your kindness, and alleviate the torment of our soul by thinking of you and remembering you. For just as the eyes, after gazing intently upon glaring objects, obtain relief by returning to blues and greens, so also to our souls is the memory of your gentleness and sense of fitness like a gentle touch that dispels all sense of pain; and this is especially true when we call to mind that you fulfilled your whole duty within your power. Thereby you have not only given us men, if we judge the matter fairly, adequate proof that no loss has been sustained through your fault, but also with God you have gained a great reward for your zeal for honourable things. May the Lord graciously grant you unto us and unto His churches, for the improvement of our lives and the amendment of our souls, and may He count me worthy of the benefit of meeting you again.

LETTER XXXV

Without address, in behalf of Leontius[1]

I have written to you about many who engage my interest, and in the future I shall write about still more. For neither can the supply of the needy fail, nor is it possible for us to refuse them the favour. There is assuredly no one more dear to me,

[1] Written before Basil was made bishop, in behalf of Leontius, the sophist, addressed in Letter XXI.

οἰκειότερός μοι, οὔτε μᾶλλον ἀναπαῦσαί με ἐφ' οἷς ἂν εὖ τι πάθοι[1] δυνάμενος, τοῦ αἰδεσιμωτάτου ἀδελφοῦ Λεοντίου. οὗ τὴν οἰκίαν οὕτω διάθες, ὡς ἂν εἰ αὐτὸν ἐμὲ καταλάβοις,[2] μὴ[3] ἐν τῇ πενίᾳ ταύτῃ, ἐν ᾗ νῦν εἰμὶ σὺν Θεῷ, ἀλλ' εὐπορίας τινὸς ἐπειλημμένον καὶ ἀγροὺς κεκτημένον. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἐποίησάς με πένητα, ἀλλ' ἐφύλαξας ἂν τὰ παρόντα, ἢ ἐπέτεινας τὴν εὐπορίαν. τοῦτο οὖν ποιῆσαί σε[4] καὶ ἐν τῇ προειρημένῃ μοι οἰκίᾳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς παρακαλοῦμεν. μισθὸς δέ σοι ὑπὲρ πάντων ὁ συνήθης παρ' ἐμοῦ, εὐχὴ πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον Θεὸν ὑπὲρ ὧν κάμνεις, καλός τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς ὢν καὶ προλαμβάνων τὰς αἰτήσεις τῶν δεομένων.

XXXVI

Ἀνεπίγραφος, ἐπὶ ἐπικουρίᾳ

Ὁ πρεσβύτερος τοῦ χωρίου τοῦδε, οἶμαι, ὅτι πάλαι ἔγνωσται τῇ εὐγενείᾳ σου, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐμοὶ σύντροφος. τί οὖν ἄλλο δεῖ με εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸ δυσωπῆσαί σου τὴν χρηστότητα, οἰκείως αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν καὶ βοηθῆσαι αὐτῷ εἰς τὰ πράγματα; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐμὲ ἀγαπᾷς, ὥσπερ οὖν ἀγαπᾷς, δηλονότι καὶ οὓς ἀντ' ἐμαυτοῦ ἔχω ἀναπαῦσαι πάσῃ δυνάμει προαιρῇ. τί οὖν ἐστὶν ὃ παρακαλῶ; φυλαχθῆναι αὐτῷ τὴν παλαιὰν ἀπογραφήν. καὶ

[1] πάθοιμι E. [2] καταλάβῃς C, D.
[3] μὴ om. C, D. [4] σοι E.

[1] *i.e.* administer to his needs; cf. next letter.

or more able to relieve[1] me with whatever means fortune may bring him, than our most reverend brother Leontius. Treat his household as you would my own, in case you should find me, not in this state of poverty in which I now live with God, but seized of some measure of prosperity and in the possession of a landed estate. For in that case you surely would not reduce me to poverty, but you would guard my present possessions, or even increase my prosperity. This accordingly we beg you to do in the case of the aforesaid household of Leontius. Your reward for all this will be what I am accustomed to pay—a prayer to the Holy God to prosper all your undertakings, inasmuch as you are an honourable and upright man, and forestall the petitions of the needy.

LETTER XXXVI

Without address, asking Assistance[2]

It has long been known to your noble self, I believe, that the presbyter of this place is a foster-brother of mine. So what else need I say to induce your kind heart to look upon him with favour, and to help him in his affairs? For if you love me, as indeed you do, it is, of course, your wish by all means in your power to relieve those also whom I regard as my own self. Now what is it that I ask of you? That his old rating[3] be retained for him.

[2] Written at the same time as the preceding, asking that special care be taken lest any injustice be done to a friend in the valuation of personal property during the impending taking of the census. [3] Cf. Justin, *Apol.* 1. 34.

γὰρ καὶ κάμνει οὐ μετρίως ἡμῖν ὑπηρετῶν πρὸς τὸν βίον διὰ τὸ ἡμᾶς, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπίστασαι, μηδὲν κεκτῆσθαι ἴδιον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῶν φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν ἀρκεῖσθαι.[1] ὡς οὖν ἐμὸν οἶκον, μᾶλλον δὲ ὡς ἑαυτοῦ, οὕτω θέασαι τὸν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦδε· καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν εὐποιίας παρέξει Θεὸς καὶ σοί, καὶ οἴκῳ, καὶ γένει παντί σου τὴν συνήθη[2] βοήθειαν.[3] γίνωσκε δέ μοι πάνυ ἐπιμελὲς εἶναι μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐξισώσεως ἐπηρεασθῆναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

XXXVII

Ἀνεπίγραφος, ὑπὲρ συντρόφου

Ὑφορῶμαι λοιπὸν τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τὸ πλῆθος. βιαίως μέν, καὶ μὴ φέρων τὴν ἐπάχθειαν τῶν ἀπαιτούντων ἡμᾶς, ἐκφωνεῖν ἀναγκάζομαι· γράφω δ' οὖν ὅμως, ἄλλον ἀπαλλαγῆς τρόπον ἐπινοεῖν οὐκ ἔχων, ἢ διδοὺς αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αἰτοῦσιν ἑκάστοτε παρ' ἡμῶν. φοβοῦμαι τοίνυν μή, ἐπειδὴ πολλοὶ προσκομίζουσι γράμματα, εἷς τῶν πολλῶν νομισθῇ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ δεῖνα. ἐγὼ γὰρ πολλοὺς φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος ὁμολογῶ, καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν πατρικὴν τάξιν τετάχθαι, διὰ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦτο εἰς ὃ ἔταξεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος. σύντροφον δὲ τῆς θρεψαμένης

[1] κεῖσθαι E. [2] συνήθη om. C, D.
[3] συνήθη βοήθειαν] συνήθειαν E.

For he labours not a little in administering to our necessities, since, as you know, we possess nothing of our own, but are content with what our friends and relatives provide. I pray you, therefore, to regard this brother's household as my own, or rather as your own; and in return for this benefaction to him God will grant unto you, your household, and all your family His accustomed aid. Be assured that it is a matter of grave concern to me that the man be not wrongfully treated through the equalization of ratings.

LETTER XXXVII

Without address, in behalf of a Foster-brother [1]

I am coming to look with suspicion on the number of my letters. Under compulsion and when I cannot endure the annoyance of insistent petitioners, I am obliged to speak my mind; but nevertheless I do write because I can devise no way of relief other than to give them the letters when they demand them of me. Consequently I am afraid that, since there are many who come to you with letters, a certain brother of ours may be considered one of the many. For I admit that I have many friends and relatives in my country, and that I myself have been appointed to the position of a father by reason of this station [2] to which the Lord has appointed me. But I have only one foster-

[1] Written at the same time as the preceding.

[2] Maran considers this to be not his episcopate but his presbyterate.

με υἱὸν τοῦτον ἔχω ἕνα, καὶ εὔχομαι τὸν οἶκον ἐν ᾧ ἀνετράφην ἐπὶ τῆς ὁμοίας καταστάσεως διαμεῖναι, ἵνα μή τι [1] ἡ πάντας εὐεργετοῦσα ἐπιδημία τῆς σῆς κοσμιότητος ἀφορμὴ πρὸς λύπην τῷ ἀνδρὶ γένηται. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ διατρέφομαι οἴκου, οὐδὲν ἔχων τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ, ἀρκούμενος δὲ τοῖς τῶν ἀγαπητῶν, παρακαλῶ οὕτω φείσασθαι τῆς οἰκίας ᾗ ἐνετράφην, ὡς ἐμοὶ τῆς τροφῆς τὴν χορηγίαν διασώζοντα.[2] καί σε ὁ Θεὸς ἀντὶ τούτων τῆς αἰωνίου ἀναπαύσεως ἀξιώσειεν.

Ἐκεῖνό γε μὴν πάντων ἀληθέστατον γινώσκειν σου τὴν κοσμιότητα βούλομαι, ὅτι τῶν ἀνδραπόδων τὰ πλεῖστα παρ' ἡμῶν ὑπῆρξεν αὐτῷ μισθὸς [3] τῆς τροφῆς ἡμῶν, τῶν γονέων ἡμῶν παρασχομένων. ὁ δὲ μισθὸς οὐ παντελής ἐστι δωρεά, ἀλλὰ χρῆσις διὰ βίου. ὥστε ἐάν τι βαρὺ περὶ αὐτὰ γένηται, ἔξεστιν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποπέμψαι, καὶ ἐσόμεθα ἡμεῖς δι' ἑτέρας ὁδοῦ ὑπεύθυνοι τελέσμασι καὶ ἀπαιτηταῖς πάλιν γινόμενοι.

[1] τι om. C. [2] διασώζουσαν E. [3] μισθὸν C, D.

brother, this man who is the son of the woman who nursed me, and I pray that the household in which I was brought up may remain at its old assessment, in order that the sojourn of your modesty, which brings benefit to all, may not be an occasion of regret for this man. Nay, since I am even now supported by this same household, having nothing of my own, but depending upon these loved ones for succour, I urge you with this thought to spare the family in which I was nourished—that by so doing you are preserving the source of my present subsistence. And in return for this may God account you worthy of the everlasting rest.

Furthermore, there is one thing that I want your modesty to know as beyond question the truth—that most of the slaves belong to this man as a gift from us as remuneration for our sustenance, our parents having bestowed them upon him. Yet this remuneration is not entirely a gift, but merely a loan for life. Accordingly, if anything oppressive happens in connection with the slaves,[1] he may return them to us, and we shall thus by another way become liable to assessments and subject to tax-gatherers.

[1] *i.e.* if the assessment is altered on account of the man's possession of slaves—an additional argument in favour of the petition, for Basil will be the one to suffer by the increased taxation.

XXXVIII

Γρηγορίῳ ἀδελφῷ περὶ διαφορᾶς οὐσίας καὶ ὑποστάσεως[1]

Ἐπειδὴ πολλοί, τὸ κοινὸν τῆς οὐσίας[2] ἐπὶ τῶν μυστικῶν δογμάτων μὴ διακρίνοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν ὑποστάσεων λόγου, ταῖς αὐταῖς συνεμπίπτουσιν ὑπονοίαις, καὶ οἴονται διαφέρειν μηδὲν οὐσίαν ἢ ὑπόστασιν λέγειν (ὅθεν καὶ ἤρεσέ τισι τῶν ἀνεξετάστως τὰ τοιαῦτα προσδεχομένων, ὥσπερ μίαν οὐσίαν, οὕτω καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν λέγειν· καὶ τὸ ἔμπαλιν, οἱ τὰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις παραδεχόμενοι καὶ τὴν τῶν οὐσίων διαίρεσιν, κατὰ τὸν ἴσον ἀριθμόν, ἐκ τῆς ὁμολογίας ταύτης δογματίζειν οἴονται δεῖν)· διὰ τοῦτο ὡς ἂν μὴ καὶ σὺ τὰ ὅμοια πάθοις,[3] ὑπόμνημά σοι διὰ βραχέων τὸν περὶ τούτου λόγον ἐποιησάμην. ἔστι τοίνυν, ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ παραστῆσαι, τοιαύτη τῶν λεγομένων ἡ ἔννοια.

Πάντων τῶν ὀνομάτων τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ πλειόνων καὶ τῷ ἀριθμῷ διαφερόντων λεγόμενα πραγμάτων καθολικωτέραν τινὰ τὴν σημασίαν ἔχει, οἷον ἄνθρωπος. ὁ γὰρ τοῦτο εἰπών, τὴν κοινὴν φύσιν διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος δείξας, οὐ περιέγραψε τῇ φωνῇ τόν τινα ἄνθρωπον, τὸν ἰδίως ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος γνωριζόμενον. οὐ γὰρ μᾶλλον Πέτρος ἄνθρωπός

[1] Sic C, D, E ; Γρηγορίῳ ἀδελφῷ in marg. περὶ διαφορᾶς οὐσίας καὶ ὑποστάσεως A, B ; πρὸς Γρηγόριον ἀδελφὸν F.
[2] φύσεως E. [3] πάθῃς C, D.

LETTER XXXVIII

To Gregory his brother, on the difference between substance and person [1]

Seeing that many, in treating of the mysterious doctrine of the Trinity, because they fail to discern any difference between the general conception of substance and that of the persons, come to like notions and think that it matters not whether they use the term "substance" or "person" (and for this reason some of those who accept such things without investigation are pleased to attribute one person to God just as they do one substance; and vice versa, those who profess three persons feel obliged to assert as a consequence of this truth the same number of divine substances): for this reason, in order that you too may not fall into the same error, I have composed this brief discussion of the subject by way of a memorandum for you. Now the meaning of these words, to explain it in brief, is as follows.

Those nouns which are predicated of subjects plural and numerically diverse have a more general meaning, as for example "man." For when you say "man," you thereby signify the general class, and do not specify any man who is particularly known by that name. For "man" is no less applicable to

[1] This letter seems to have been written either in 369 or 370. It is included among the works of Gregory of Nyssa, addressed to Peter, Bishop of Sebaste, brother of Basil and Gregory of Nyssa. Maran, however, considers it Basil's on stylistic grounds. Besides, it was referred to as Basil's at the Synod of Chalcedon, and all the MSS. collated likewise ascribe it to him. For the theological matters concerned herein, cf. Introd., and also note 1 of Letter VIII.

ἐστιν, ἢ καὶ Ἀνδρέας, καὶ Ἰωάννης, καὶ Ἰάκωβος. ἡ οὖν κοινότης τοῦ σημαινομένου, ὁμοίως ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ὑπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ ὄνομα τεταγμένους χωροῦσα, χρείαν ἔχει τῆς ὑποδιαστολῆς, δι' ἧς οὐ τὸν καθόλου ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ τὸν Πέτρον ἢ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐπιγνωσόμεθα.

Τὰ δὲ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἰδικωτέραν ἔχει τὴν ἔνδειξιν, δι' ἧς οὐχ ἡ[1] κοινότης τῆς[2] φύσεως ἐνθεωρεῖται τῷ σημαινομένῳ, ἀλλὰ πράγματός τινος περιγραφή, μηδεμίαν ἔχουσα πρὸς τὸ ὁμογενές, κατὰ τὸ ἰδίαζον, τὴν κοινωνίαν, οἷον ὁ Παῦλος, ἢ ὁ Τιμόθεος. οὐκέτι γὰρ ἡ τοιαύτη φωνὴ ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῆς φύσεως φέρεται, ἀλλὰ χωρίσασα[3] τῆς περιληπτικῆς σημασίας, περιγεγραμμένων τινῶν πραγμάτων ἔμφασιν διὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων παρίστησιν. ὅταν οὖν δύο ἢ καὶ πλειόνων κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ὄντων, οἷον Παύλου καὶ Σιλουανοῦ καὶ Τιμοθέου, περὶ τῆς οὐσίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζητῆται λόγος, οὐκ ἄλλον τις ἀποδώσει τῆς οὐσίας ἐπὶ τοῦ Παύλου λόγον, ἕτερον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Σιλουανοῦ, καὶ ἄλλον ἐπὶ τοῦ[4] Τιμοθέου· ἀλλὰ δι' ὧν ἂν λόγων ἡ οὐσία τοῦ Παύλου δειχθῇ, οὗτοι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐφαρμόσουσι· καί εἰσιν ἀλλήλοις ὁμοούσιοι οἱ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ τῆς οὐσίας ὑπογραφόμενοι. ἐπειδὰν δέ τις, τὸ κοινὸν μαθών, ἐπὶ τὰ ἰδιάζοντα τρέψῃ τὴν θεωρίαν, δι' ὧν χωρίζεται τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸ ἕτερον, οὐκέτι ὁ ἑκάστου γνωριστικὸς λόγος τῷ περὶ τοῦ ἄλλου διὰ πάντων συνενεχθήσεται, κἂν ἔν τισιν εὑρεθῇ τὸ κοινὸν ἔχων.

[1] οὐχ ἡ] οὐχὶ C, D, E. [2] τις B, D.
[3] χωρήσασα A. [4] Παύλου λόγον . . . ἐπὶ τοῦ om. C, D.

Peter than to Andrew, John, or James. This common element of the thing predicated, seeing that it refers to all alike who are included under the same term, demands a further note of distinction if we are to understand, not merely man in general, but "Peter" or "John" in particular.

Other nouns have a very specific denotation, whereby it is not the common property of the class that is indicated by the term employed, but rather a limitation to a particular thing, this delimitation implying no participation in the genus so far as the individuality of the object is concerned; for example, "Paul" or "Timothy." For such expressions no longer have reference to the properties common to the nature of the objects, but, by setting apart certain delimited objects from the comprehensive term, specify what they are by means of these names. Now when a name is sought for two or more similar objects, as, for example, "Paul," "Silvanus," and "Timothy," which will indicate the substance of these men, you will not apply one term to the substance of Paul, but a different one to that of Silvanus, and still another to that of Timothy; but whatever terms indicate the substance of Paul will apply to the two others as well; and those who are described with reference to their substance by the same terms are consubstantial with one another. And when you have learnt the common element and turn your investigation to the individual characteristics whereby the one is differentiated from the other, then the description which conveys knowledge of each will not agree in all respects with that which describes the other, even if in certain respects it is found to include the element common to all.

Τοῦτο τοίνυν φαμέν· τὸ ἰδίως λεγόμενον τῷ τῆς ὑποστάσεως δηλοῦσθαι ῥήματι. ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπον εἰπὼν ἐσκεδασμένην τινὰ διάνοιαν τῷ ἀορίστῳ τῆς σημασίας τῇ ἀκοῇ ἐνεποίησεν, ὥστε τὴν μὲν φύσιν ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος δηλωθῆναι, τὸ δὲ ὑφεστὼς[1] *καὶ δηλούμενον ἰδίως ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος πρᾶγμα μὴ σημανθῆναι. ὁ δὲ Παῦλον εἰπὼν ἔδειξεν ἐν τῷ δηλουμένῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος πράγματι ὑφεστῶσαν τὴν φύσιν.*

Τοῦτο οὖν ἐστὶν ἡ ὑπόστασις, οὐχ ἡ ἀόριστος τῆς οὐσίας ἔννοια, μηδεμίαν ἐκ τῆς κοινότητος τοῦ σημαινομένου στάσιν εὑρίσκουσα, ἀλλ' ἡ τὸ κοινόν τε καὶ ἀπερίγραπτον ἐν τῷ τινὶ πράγματι διὰ τῶν ἐπιφαινομένων ἰδιωμάτων παριστῶσα καὶ περιγράφουσα· ὡς καὶ τῇ Γραφῇ σύνηθες τὸ τοιοῦτον ποιεῖν, ἐν ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς, καὶ ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὸν Ἰὼβ ἱστορίᾳ. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔμελλε τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ διηγεῖσθαι, πρότερον τοῦ κοινοῦ[2] *μνημονεύσασα, καὶ εἰποῦσα ἄνθρωπος, εὐθὺς ἀποτέμνει τῷ*[3] *ἰδιάζοντι ἐν τῇ προσθήκῃ τοῦ τις. ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν οὐσίας τὴν ὑπογραφήν, ὡς οὐδὲν φέρουσαν κέρδος πρὸς τὸν προκείμενον τοῦ λόγου σκοπόν, ἐσιώπησε· τὸν δέ τινα διὰ τῶν*

[1] *ὑφεστηκὸς* C, D. [2] *τοῦ κοινοῦ* from *τὸν κοινὸν* F. [3] *τὸ* from *τῷ* F.

[1] Basil etymologizes here, using "stasis," the second element in "hypo-stasis." Cf. p. 47, note 1.

This, then, is our statement of the matter; that which is specifically referred to is indicated by the expression "hypostasis" (person). For if you say "man," by the indefiniteness of the term used you have produced in our minds a sort of vague concept, so that, although the nature of the thing is indicated by the noun, yet the thing which subsists in that nature and is specifically indicated by the noun is not made evident to us. But if you say "Paul," you have indicated by the noun the nature subsisting in the particular object.

This, then, is subsistence or "hypostasis" (person). It is, however, not the indefinite notion of "ousia" (substance), which by reason of the generality of the term employed discloses no "sistence";[1] it is the conception which, by means of the specific notes that it indicates, restricts and circumscribes in a particular thing what is general and uncircumscribed, as is shown in many examples in Scripture and in the story of Job.[2] For as he begins the narration ot his experience, he first mentions the general and common term, saying "a man," and immediately afterwards cuts off a portion by specifying the individual and adding the word "certain." But as to the description of the substance he says nothing at all, feeling that it contributes nothing to the object of his discussion; but the "certain" person

[2] Cf. Job 1. 1–2: Ἄνθρωπός τις ἦν ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ Αὐστίδι ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰώβ· καὶ ἦν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος ἀληθινός, ἄμεμπτος, δίκαιος, θεοσεβής, ἀπεχόμενος ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ πράγματος, ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτῷ υἱοὶ ἑπτὰ καὶ θυγατέρες τρεῖς, etc. "There was a man in the land of Hus, whose name was Job, and that man was simple and upright, and fearing God, and avoiding evil. And there were born to him seven sons and three daughters," etc.

οἰκείων γνωρισμάτων χαρακτηρίζει, καὶ τόπον λέγουσα καὶ τὰ τοῦ ἤθους γνωρίσματα, καὶ ὅσα τῶν ἔξωθεν συμπαραληφθέντα χωρίζειν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀφιστᾶν ἔμελλε[1] *τῆς κοινῆς σημασίας· ὥστε διὰ πάντων ἐναργῆ τοῦ ἱστορουμένου γενέσθαι τὴν ὑπογραφήν, ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος, ἐκ τοῦ τόπου, ἐκ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἰδιωμάτων, ἐκ τῶν ἔξωθεν περὶ αὐτὸν θεωρουμένων. εἰ δὲ τὸν τῆς οὐσίας ἐδίδου*[2] *λόγον, οὐδεμία ἂν ἐγένετο τῶν εἰρημένων ἐν τῇ τῆς φύσεως ἑρμηνείᾳ μνήμη· ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἂν ἦν λόγος, ὃς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ* Βαλδὰδ *τοῦ* Σαυχίτου[3] *καὶ* Σοφὰρ *τοῦ* Μιναίου *καὶ ἐφ' ἑκάστου τῶν ἐκεῖ μνημονευθέντων ἀνθρώπων.*

Ὃν τοίνυν ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔγνως διαφορᾶς λόγον ἐπί τε τῆς οὐσίας καὶ τῆς ὑποστάσεως, τοῦτον μετατιθεὶς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θείων δογμάτων, οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεις. πῶς[4] *τὸ εἶναι τοῦ* Πατρός, *ὅ τί ποτε ὑποτίθεταί σου*[5] *ἡ ἔννοια (πρὸς οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἀποτεταγμένον*[6] *νόημα τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπερείδειν, διὰ τὸ πεπεῖσθαι αὐτὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν εἶναι νόημα), τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ* Υἱοῦ *νοήσεις, τοῦτο ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ* Πνεύματος *τοῦ ἁγίου. ὁ γὰρ τοῦ ἀκτίστου καὶ τοῦ ἀκαταλήπτου λόγος, εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπί τε τοῦ* Πατρὸς *καὶ τοῦ* Υἱοῦ *καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου* Πνεύματός *ἐστιν. οὐ γὰρ τὸ μὲν μᾶλλον*

[1] ἔμελε E, ἤμελλε D. [2] ἐδήλου E. [3] Αὐχίτου A, B.
[4] ἁμαρτήσεις. πῶς] ἁμάρτης εἴ πως C, D. πῶς] ὡς A.
[5] σοι C, D. [6] ὑποτεταγμένον E.

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[1] Cf. Job 2. 11: Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ τρεῖς φίλοι αὐτοῦ τὰ κακὰ πάντα τὰ ἐπελθόντα αὐτῷ, παρεγένοντο ἕκαστος ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας

he characterizes by the peculiar notes which identify him, mentioning both a place, the marks which reveal his character, and all such external adjuncts as will differentiate him and set him apart from the general idea. Consequently, by all these means—the name, the place, the peculiar qualities of his character, and his external attributes as disclosed by observation—the description of the subject of the story becomes explicit. But if he had been giving an account of the substance, there would have been no mention of the aforesaid things in his explanation of its nature; for the same terms would have been used as in describing Baldad the Sauhite, Sophar the Minnaean, and each of the men mentioned in the narrative.[1]

Accordingly, if you transfer to divine dogmas the principle of differentiation which you recognize as applying to substance and person in human affairs, you will not go astray. In whatever manner and as whatever thing your mind conceives of the substance of the Father (for it is of no avail to press upon a spiritual thing a definitely prescribed conception, because we are sure that it is beyond all conception), this you will hold for the Son also, and likewise for the Holy Ghost. For one and the same conception of Being Uncreated and Incomprehensible is to be attributed to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost. For one cannot

χώρας πρὸς αὐτόν, Ἐλειφὰζ ὁ Θαιμανῶν βασιλεύς, Βαλδὰδ ὁ Σαυχαίων τύραννος, Σωφὰρ ὁ Μειναίων βασιλεύς. "Now when Job's three friends heard all the evil that had befallen him, they came every one from his own place, Eliphaz the Themanite, and Baldad the Suhite, and Sophar the Naamathite."

ἀκατάληπτόν τε καὶ ἄκτιστον, τὸ δὲ ἧττον. ἐπεὶ[1] δὲ χρὴ διὰ τῶν ἰδιαζόντων σημείων ἀσύγχυτον ἐπὶ τῆς Τριάδος τὴν διάκρισιν ἔχειν, τὸ μὲν κοινῶς ἐπιθεωρούμενον, οἷον τὸ ἄκτιστον λέγω, ἢ τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν κατάληψιν, ἢ εἴ τι τοιοῦτον, οὐ συμπαραληψόμεθα εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἰδιάζοντος κρίσιν, ἐπιζητήσομεν δὲ μόνον, δι᾽ ὧν ἡ περὶ ἑκάστου ἔννοια τηλαυγῶς καὶ ἀμίκτως τῆς συνθεωρουμένης ἀφορισθήσεται.

Καλῶς οὖν ἔχειν μοι δοκεῖ οὕτως ἀνιχνεῦσαι τὸν λόγον. πᾶν ὅπερ ἂν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐκ θείας δυνάμεως ἀγαθὸν φθάσῃ, τῆς πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν[2] ἐνεργούσης χάριτος ἐνέργειαν εἶναί φαμεν· καθώς φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ὅτι Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐνεργεῖ τὸ ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα, διαιροῦν ἰδίᾳ ἑκάστῳ καθὼς βούλεται. ζητοῦντες δὲ εἰ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν χορηγία τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσα οὕτω παραγίνεται τοῖς ἀξίοις, πάλιν ὑπὸ τῆς Γραφῆς ὁδηγούμεθα εἰς τὸ τῆς χορηγίας τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἡμῖν ἐνεργουμένων ἀρχηγὸν καὶ αἴτιον τὸν μονογενῆ Θεὸν εἶναι πιστεύειν. πάντα γὰρ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ συνεστάναι, παρὰ τῆς ἁγίας Γραφῆς ἐδιδάχθημεν. ὅταν τοίνυν καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνην ὑψωθῶμεν τὴν ἔννοιαν, πάλιν ὑπὸ τῆς θεοπνεύστου χειραγωγίας ἀναγόμενοι διδασκόμεθα, ὅτι δι᾽ ἐκείνης μὲν πάντα τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκ

[1] ἐπειδὴ F. [2] ἐν πᾶσιν om. C, D.

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[1] 1 Cor. 12. 11.

[2] Cf. John 1. 3: πάντα δι᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν, ὃ γέγονεν. "All things were made by Him:

be said to be more incomprehensible and uncreated and the other less. But since we must use the words which individualize the three in order that we may keep free from confusion the distinction we shall make when dealing with the Trinity, with this aim in view we shall not include in our discussion of the individualizing element any general speculation, such as the quality of being uncreated, beyond comprehension, and so forth, but we shall investigate only those qualities by which the conception of each person in the Trinity will be conspicuously and sharply marked off from that which results from the study of all three together.

Now the best way to follow up the discussion seems to be this. Every blessing which is bestowed on us by power divine we say is the working of the Grace which worketh all things in all; as the Apostle[1] says, "But all these things one and the same Spirit worketh, dividing to everyone according as he will." But if we ask whether from the Holy Ghost alone this supply of blessings taketh its origin and cometh to those who are worthy, we are again guided by the Scriptures to the belief that the Only-begotten God is the source and cause of the supply of blessings which are worked in us through the Spirit. For we have been taught by the Holy Scripture[2] that all things were made by Him and in Him cohere. Then when we have been lifted up to that conception, we are again led on by the divinely-inspired guidance and taught that through this power all things are brought into being from

and without Him was made nothing that was made." Cf. also Col. 1. 17: καὶ αὐτός ἐστι πρὸ πάντων, καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκε. "And He is before all, and by Him all things consist."

τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι παράγεται· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐξ ἐκείνης ἀνάρχως· ἀλλά τίς ἐστι δύναμις ἀγεννήτως καὶ ἀνάρχως ὑφεστῶσα, ἥτις ἐστὶν αἰτία τῆς ἁπάντων τῶν ὄντων αἰτίας. ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ Υἱός, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, ᾧ πάντοτε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀχωρίστως συνεπινοεῖται. οὐ γάρ ἔστιν ἐν περινοίᾳ τοῦ Υἱοῦ γενέσθαι, μὴ προκαταυγασθέντα τῷ Πνεύματι. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ἀφ' οὗ πᾶσα ἐπὶ τὴν κτίσιν ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν χορηγία πηγάζει, τοῦ Υἱοῦ μὲν ἤρτηται, ᾧ ἀδιαστάτως συγκαταλαμβάνεται· τῆς δὲ τοῦ Πατρὸς αἰτίας ἐξημμένον[1] ἔχει τὸ εἶναι, ὅθεν καὶ ἐκπορεύεται· τοῦτο γνωριστικὸν τῆς κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἰδιότητος σημεῖον ἔχει, τὸ μετὰ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ γνωρίζεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑφεστάναι.

Ὁ δὲ Υἱός, ὁ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον Πνεῦμα δι' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ γνωρίζων, μόνος μονογενῶς ἐκ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου φωτὸς ἐκλάμψας, οὐδεμίαν, κατὰ τὸ ἰδίαζον τῶν γνωρισμάτων, τὴν κοινωνίαν ἔχει πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα ἢ πρὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς εἰρημένοις σημείοις μόνος γνωρίζεται. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός, ἐξαίρετόν τι γνώρισμα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ὑποστάσεως, τὸ Πατὴρ εἶναι, καὶ ἐκ μηδεμιᾶς αἰτίας ὑποστῆναι, μόνος ἔχει· καὶ διὰ τούτου πάλιν τοῦ σημείου καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδιαζόντως ἐπιγινώσκεται. τούτου ἕνεκεν ἐν[2] τῇ τῆς οὐσίας κοινότητι ἀσύμβατά φαμεν εἶναι καὶ ἀκοινώνητα τὰ ἐπιθεωρούμενα τῇ Τριάδι γνωρίσματα, δι' ὧν ἡ ἰδιότης παρίσταται τῶν ἐν τῇ πίστει παραδεδο-

[1] ἐξηρτημένον C, D. [2] ἐπὶ E.

not-being; not, however, even by this power without a beginning; nay, there is a power which exists without generation or beginning, and this is the cause of the cause of all things that exist. For the Son, by whom all things are, and with whom the Holy Spirit must always be conceived as inseparably associated, is of the Father. For it is impossible for a man, if he has not been previously enlightened by the Spirit, to arrive at a conception of the Son. Since, then, the Holy Spirit, from whom the entire supply of blessings gushes forth to creation, is united with the Son and with Him is inseparably produced, He has His being attached to the Father as a cause, from whom indeed He proceeds. He has this distinguishing note characteristic of His person, that He is produced after the Son and with Him and that He has His subsistence from the Father.

As for the Son, who through Himself and with Himself makes known the Spirit which proceeds from the Father, and who shines forth as the only-begotten from the unbegotten light, He in the matter of the individual tokens which distinguish Him has nothing in common with the Father or with the Holy Spirit, but alone is recognized by the note just named. And God, who is over all, alone has an exceptional note of His person, in that He is Father and proceeds from no other principle; and by this note again He is also recognized individually Himself. Therefore we assert that in the community of substance there is no accord or community as regards the distinguishing notes assigned by faith to the Trinity, whereby the individuality of the persons of the Godhead, as they have been handed

μένων προσώπων, ἑκάστου τοῖς ἰδίοις γνωρίσμασι διακεκριμένως καταλαμβανομένου· ὥστε διὰ τῶν εἰρημένων σημείων τὸ κεχωρισμένον τῶν ὑποστάσεων ἐξευρεθῆναι· κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἄπειρον, καὶ ἀκατάληπτον, καὶ τὸ ἀκτίστως εἶναι, καὶ μηδενὶ τόπῳ περιειλῆφθαι, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τοιούτοις, μηδεμίαν εἶναι παραλλαγὴν ἐν τῇ ζωοποιῷ φύσει, ἐπὶ Πατρὸς λέγω καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου· ἀλλά τινα συνεχῆ καὶ ἀδιάσπαστον κοινωνίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς θεωρεῖσθαι. καὶ δι' ὧν ἄν τις νοημάτων τὸ μεγαλεῖον ἑνός τινος τῶν ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ Τριάδι πιστευομένων κατανοήσειε, διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν[1] προσελεύσεται, ἀπαραλλάκτως, ἐπὶ Πατρός, καὶ Υἱοῦ, καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου τὴν δόξαν βλέπων, ἐν οὐδενὶ διαλείμματι μεταξὺ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος τῆς διανοίας κενεμβατούσης. διότι οὐδέν ἐστι τὸ διὰ μέσου τούτων παρενειρόμενον, οὔτε πρᾶγμα ὑφεστὼς ἄλλο τι παρὰ τὴν θείαν φύσιν, ὡς καταμερίζειν αὐτὴν πρὸς ἑαυτὴν διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου παρεμπτώσεως δύνασθαι, οὔτε διαστήματός τινος ἀνυποστάτου κενότης, ἥτις κεχηνέναι[2] ποιεῖ τῆς θείας οὐσίας τὴν πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἁρμονίαν, τῇ παρενθήκῃ τοῦ κενοῦ τὸ συνεχὲς διαστέλλουσα. ἀλλ' ὁ τὸν Πατέρα νοήσας, αὐτόν τε ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐνόησε, καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν τῇ διανοίᾳ συμπαρεδέξατο· ὁ δὲ τοῦτον λαβὼν τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα[3] οὐκ ἀπεμέρισεν, ἀλλ' ἀκολούθως μέν, κατὰ τὴν τάξιν, συνημμένως δέ, κατὰ τὴν φύσιν,

[1] διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν from δι' αὐτῶν alia m. F.
[2] κεχηναίναι F.
[3] τὸν πατέρα from τὸ Πνεῦμα alia m. F.

down in our faith, is made known to us, for each is apprehended separately by means of its own particular distinguishing notes. It is by means of the marks just mentioned that the distinction of the Persons is ascertained; but regarding attributes denoted by the terms infinite, incomprehensible, uncreated, uncircumscribed by space, and all others of like nature, there is no variation in the life-giving nature—I mean in the case of the Father, or of the Son, or of the Holy Spirit—but a certain continuous and uninterrupted community appears in them. And through whatever processes of thought you reach a conception of the majesty of any one of the three persons of the Blessed Trinity in which we believe, through these same processes you will arrive invariably at the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, and gaze upon their glory, since there is no interval between Father and Son and Holy Spirit in which the intellect will walk in a void. The reason is that there is nothing which intrudes itself between these persons, and that beyond the divine nature there is nothing which subsists that could really divide it from itself by the interposition of some outside thing, and that there is no void, in the form of an interspace in which there is no subsistence, between the three Persons, which could cause the inner harmony of the divine essence to gape open by breaking the continuity through the insertion of this void. But he who has conceived the Father, and conceived of Him apart by Himself, has at the same time mentally accepted the Son also; and he who lays hold of the Son does not dismember the Spirit from the Son, but in due sequence, so far as their order is concerned, yet unitedly, as regards

τῶν τριῶν κατὰ ταὐτὸν συγκεκραμένην ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν πίστιν ἀνετυπώσατο. καὶ ὁ τὸ Πνεῦμα μόνον εἰπὼν συμπεριέλαβε τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ τὸν οὗ ἐστὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καθώς φησιν ὁ Παῦλος,[1] ὥσπερ ἐξ ἁλύσεως ὁ τοῦ ἑνὸς ἄκρου ἁψάμενος καὶ τὸ ἕτερον ἄκρον συνεπεσπάσατο, οὕτως ὁ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἑλκύσας, καθώς φησιν ὁ προφήτης, δι᾿ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸν Πατέρα[2] συνεφειλκύσατο. καὶ εἰ τὸν Υἱὸν ἀληθινῶς τις λάβοι, ἕξει αὐτὸν ἑκατέρωθεν, πῇ μὲν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Πατέρα, πῇ δὲ τὸ ἴδιον Πνεῦμα συνεπαγόμενον. οὔτε γὰρ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ ἀεὶ ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ ὢν ἀποτμηθῆναι δυνήσεται, οὔτε τοῦ Πνεύματός ποτε διαζευχθήσεται τοῦ ἰδίου ὁ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ[3] ἐνεργῶν. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὁ τὸν Πατέρα δεξάμενος καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα συμπαρεδέξατο τῇ δυνάμει. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐπινοῆσαι τομὴν ἢ διαίρεσιν κατ᾿ οὐδένα τρόπον, ὡς ἢ[4] Υἱὸν χωρὶς Πατρὸς νοηθῆναι, ἢ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Υἱοῦ διαζευχθῆναι· ἀλλά τις ἄρρητος καὶ ἀκατανόητος ἐν τούτοις καταλαμβάνεται καὶ ἡ κοινωνία καὶ ἡ διάκρισις, οὔτε τῆς τῶν ὑποστάσεων διαφορᾶς τὸ τῆς φύσεως συνεχὲς διασπώσης, οὔτε τῆς κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν κοινότητος τὸ ἰδιάζον τῶν γνωρισμάτων ἀναχεούσης. μὴ θαυμάσῃς δὲ εἰ

[1] ἀπόστολος C, D, F.
[2] τὸν πατέρα from τὸ πνεῦμα alia m. F.
[3] ἐν αὐτῷ om. C, D.
[4] ἢ om. A, B.

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[1] Cf. Rom. 8. 9: εἰ δέ τις πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχει, οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ. "Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his." Cf. also 1 Cor. 11. 12: ὥσπερ γὰρ

their natures, forms within himself an image of the faith that is a blending of the three in the same way. And he who has mentioned the Spirit alone has embraced with It in this confession also Him of whom the Spirit is. And since the Spirit is of Christ and from God, as Paul[1] says, just as he who grasps one end of a chain pulls along with it the other end also to himself, so he who draws the Spirit, as the prophet[2] says, through the Spirit draws both the Son and the Father along with It. And if you truly lay hold of the Son, you will hold Him on two sides, on the one where He draws His Father to himself, and on the other where He draws His own Spirit. For neither will He who eternally exists in the Father by any possibility be cut off from the Father, nor will He who works all things in the Spirit ever be disjoined from the Spirit which is His own. In like manner he who accepts the Father virtually accepts along with Him the Son and the Spirit also. For it is impossible in any manner to conceive of a severance or separation whereby either the Son is thought of apart from the Father or the Spirit is parted from the Son; but there is apprehended among these three a certain ineffable and inconceivable communion and at the same time distinction, with neither the difference between their persons disintegrating the continuity of their nature, nor this community of substance confounding the individual character of their distinguishing notes. Do not

ἡ γυνὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ διὰ τῆς γυναικός, τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ. "For as the woman is of the man, so also is the man by the woman: but all things of God."

[2] A misinterpretation, perhaps intentional, of Psal. 119. 131: εἵλκυσα πνεῦμα. "I drew breath," "I panted."

τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ συνημμένον καὶ διακεκριμένον εἶναί φαμεν,[1] καί τινα ἐπινοοῦμεν, ὥσπερ ἐν αἰνίγματι, καινὴν καὶ παράδοξον διάκρισίν τε συνημμένην καὶ διακεκριμένην συνάφειαν. εἰ γὰρ μή τις ἐριστικῶς καὶ πρὸς ἐπήρειαν ἀκούοι τοῦ λόγου, καὶ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς δυνατόν ἐστι τὸ τοιοῦτον εὑρεῖν.

Καί μου δέξασθε τὸν λόγον ὡς ὑπόδειγμα καὶ σκιὰν ἀληθείας, οὐχ ὡς αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀλήθειαν· οὐ γὰρ δυνατόν ἐστι διὰ πάντων ἐφαρμοσθῆναι[2] τὸ ἐν τοῖς ὑποδείγμασι θεωρούμενον τοῖς πρὸς ἃ ἡ τῶν ὑποδειγμάτων χρεία παραλαμβάνεται. πόθεν οὖν φαμὲν τὸ διακεκριμένον ἅμα καὶ συναφὲς[3] ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν ἡμῖν προφαινομένων ἀναλογίζεσθαι; ἤδη ποτὲ τοῦ ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ τόξου τὴν λαμπηδόνα κατὰ τὸ ἔαρ τεθέασαι, ἐκεῖνο λέγω τὸ τόξον, ὅπερ ὁ κοινὸς λόγος ἶριν εἴωθεν ἐπονομάζειν· ὅ φασιν οἱ περὶ ταῦτα δεινοὶ τότε συνίστασθαι, ὅταν ἀνακεκραμένη τις ᾖ πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα νοτίς, τῆς τῶν πνευμάτων βίας τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἀτμοῖς ὑγρὸν καὶ παχύ, νεφῶδες ἤδη γενόμενον, εἰς ὑετὸν ἀποθλιβούσης. συνίστασθαι δὲ λέγουσιν οὕτως. ἐπειδὰν ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀκτίς, κατὰ τὸ πλάγιον ὑποδραμοῦσα τὸ πυκνόν τε καὶ συνηρεφὲς τῆς νεφώσεως, εἶτα κατὰ τὸ εὐθὺ νέφει τινὶ τὸν ἴδιον κύκλον ἐναπερείσηται, οἷόν τις καμπὴ καὶ ἐπάνοδος τοῦ φωτὸς πρὸς ἑαυτὸ γίνεται, τῆς αὐγῆς πρὸς τὸ ἔμπαλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑγροῦ τε καὶ στίλβοντος ἀναλυούσης. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ φύσις ἐστὶ ταῖς φλογώδεσι

[1] ἔφαμεν A, B. [2] ἐφαρμόσασθαι F.
[3] συνφυὲς E; συμφυὲς A, B, C, D; συνμφυὲς from συναφὲς alia m. F.

marvel if we assert that the same thing is both joined and separated, and if, as though speaking in riddles, we devise a strange and paradoxical sort of united separation and disunited connection. Indeed, unless you are listening to what I say in a contentious and spiteful spirit, even among things perceptible to the senses a similar phenomenon may be found.

Accept my words as an illustration merely and adumbration of the truth, not as the very truth of the matter; for it is impossible that the object which is observed in illustrations should agree in every respect with that to explain which the use of illustrations is resorted to. Why, then, do we say that that which is disunited and at the same time connected can be inferred by analogy from things which appear to our sense-perceptions? Now and then in spring-time you have seen in the cloud the lustre of the bow; that bow, I mean, which common parlance is wont to call the "Iris" or rainbow. Those who are skilled in such matters say that it is formed only when certain moisture is mixed with the air, the force of the breezes pressing the moist and dense portion of the vapours, this portion having already become cloudy, into rain. They say that the process of formation is this. When the sunbeam, intercepting obliquely the compact and opaque portion of the cloudy mass, then causes its own circle to impinge in a straight line upon a particular cloud, there occurs a sort of bending of the light and its return upon itself, for the sunlight returns in the opposite direction from what is moist and shiny. For since it is in the nature of flame-like flashes of light, when they fall

μαρμαρυγαῖς, εἴ τινι λείῳ προσπέσοιεν,[1] πρὸς ἑαυτὰς πάλιν ἐπανακλᾶσθαι, κυκλοτερὲς δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου[2] τὸ σχῆμα, τὸ διὰ τῆς ἀκτῖνος ἐν τῷ ὑγρῷ τε καὶ λείῳ τοῦ ἀέρος γινόμενον, ἐξ ἀνάγκης κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ κύκλου[3] καὶ ὁ παρακείμενος τῷ νέφει ἀὴρ διὰ τῆς ἀποστιλβούσης αὐγῆς περιγράφεται. αὕτη τοίνυν ἡ αὐγὴ καὶ συνεχής ἐστι πρὸς ἑαυτὴν καὶ διῄρηται. πολύχροος[4] γάρ τις οὖσα καὶ πολυειδής, ἀφανῶς τοῖς ποικίλοις ἄνθεσι τῆς βαφῆς πρὸς ἑαυτὴν κατακιρνᾶται τῶν ἑτεροχροούντων τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα συμβολὴν ἐκ τῶν ὄψεων ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸ λεληθὸς ὑποκλέπτουσα·[5] ὡς μὴ ἂν ἐπιγνωσθῆναι τοῦ γλαυκοῦ πρὸς τὸ πυραυγὲς τὸν διὰ μέσου τόπον τὸν μιγνύοντα[6] δι' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ χωρίζοντα τὴν τῶν χροῶν ἑτερότητα, ἢ τοῦ πυραυγοῦς πρὸς τὸ πορφύρεον, ἢ ἐκείνου πρὸς τὸ ἠλέκτρινον. πάντων γὰρ αἱ αὐγαὶ κατὰ ταὐτὸν ὁρώμεναι καὶ τηλαυγεῖς εἰσί, καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλας συναφείας τὰ σημεῖα κλέπτουσαι, τοὺς ἐλέγχους ἐκφεύγουσιν,[7] ὡς ἀμήχανον ἐξευρεῖν μέχρι τίνος ἕστηκε τὸ πυρῶδες ἢ τὸ σμαράγδιζον τῆς αἴγλης, καὶ ἀπὸ τίνος ἄρχεται μηκέτι τοιοῦτον εἶναι, οἷον ἐν τῷ τηλαυγεῖ καθορᾶται.

Ὥσπερ τοίνυν ἐν τῷ ὑποδείγματι καὶ τὰς τῶν

[1] προσπέσειεν C.
[2] τοῦ ἡλίου] τοῦτο A, B, C, D, E; τοῦτο from ἡλίου alia m. F.
[3] κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ κύκλου in marg. alia m. F; τοῦ κύκλου τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ C, D.
[4] πολύχρωμος A, D, E.
[5] ὑπεκκλέπτουσα A, B.
[6] μιγνύντα E, F.
[7] φεύγουσιν E.

on something smooth, to recoil again upon themselves, and since the shape of the sun which is formed by the ray in the damp and smooth part of the air is circular, necessarily then the air also which is adjacent to the clouds is outlined by the reflecting brilliancy in conformity with the shape of the sun's disc. Now this brilliancy is both continuous with itself and separated. For although it is of many colours and multiform, imperceptibly it becomes intermingled with the various hues of the dyer's art, stealing unawares from our sight the point of mutual juncture of the various colours. Consequently we cannot possibly discern between the blue-green and the yellow the intervening space which both mingles together and separates the two different colours, or between the yellow and the purple, or between the purple and the amber. For when the rays of all the colours are seen together, they are both distinct and yet at the same time filch from our view the points of their juncture with one another, and they elude our scrutiny, so that it is impossible to discover how far the red or the green portion of the radiance extends, and at what point it begins to be no longer what it is observed to be in the distinct portion.[1]

Just as, therefore, in the illustration we distinguish

[1] Basil seems to be ignorant of the order of the colours of the spectrum, for though he places "yellow" (πυραυγές, "flame-colour") between "blue-green" (γλαυκόν) and "purple" (or "red," πορφύρεον), he places "purple" or "red" between "yellow" and "amber" (ἠλέκτρινον), whereas "amber," which ought to correspond to our "orange," is really between "yellow" and "red." But the Greek terms for the colours are vague, and no one of the equivalents used in the translation is really certain.

χρωμάτων διαφορὰς φανερῶς διαγινώσκομεν, καὶ διάστασιν ἑτέρου πρὸς τὸ ἕτερον οὐκ ἔστι τῇ αἰσθήσει καταλαβεῖν,[1] οὕτω μοι λόγισαι[2] δυνατὸν εἶναι καὶ περὶ τῶν θείων δογμάτων ἀναλογίσασθαι· τὰς μὲν τῶν ὑποστάσεων ἰδιότητας, ὥσπερ τι ἄνθος τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἶριν φαινομένων, ἐπαστράπτειν[3] ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ Τριάδι πιστευομένων· τῆς δὲ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν ἰδιότητος μηδεμίαν ἑτέρου πρὸς τὸ ἕτερον ἐπινοεῖσθαι διαφοράν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ κοινότητι τῆς οὐσίας τὰς γνωριστικὰς ἰδιότητας[4] ἐπιλάμπειν ἑκάστῳ. καὶ γὰρ κἀκεῖ ἐν τῷ ὑποδείγματι ἡ ἀπαυγάζουσα τὴν πολύχροον[5] ἐκείνην αὐγὴν μία οὐσία ἦν, ἡ διὰ τῆς ἡλιακῆς ἀκτῖνος ἀνακλωμένη· τὸ δὲ ἄνθος τοῦ φαινομένου πολυειδές· παιδεύοντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ λόγου καὶ διὰ τῆς κτίσεως μὴ ξενοπαθεῖν[6] τοῖς περὶ τοῦ δόγματος λόγοις, ὅταν εἰς τὸ δυσθεώρητον ἐμπεσόντες πρὸς τὴν τῶν λεγομένων συγκατάθεσιν ἰλιγγιάσωμεν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς φαινομένων κρείττων ἐφάνη τοῦ λόγου τῆς αἰτίας ἡ πεῖρα, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ὑπεραναβεβηκότων δογμάτων κρείττων ἐστὶ τῆς διὰ λογισμῶν καταλήψεως ἡ πίστις, καὶ τὸ κεχωρισμένον ἐν ὑποστάσει καὶ τὸ συνημμένον ἐν τῇ οὐσίᾳ διδάσκουσα. ἐπεὶ οὖν τὸ μέν τι κοινὸν ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ Τριάδι τὸ δὲ ἰδίαζον ὁ λόγος ἐνεθεώρησεν, ὁ μὲν τῆς κοινότητος λόγος[7] εἰς[8] τὴν

[1] καταλαμβάνειν F.
[2] λόγισαι] νόει A; λόγισαι from νοῆσαι alia m. F.
[3] ἐπαναστράπτειν A; ἐπανάπτειν B.
[4] οὐσιότητας E.
[5] πολύχρωμον C, D; πολύχροον from πολύχρωμον alia m. F.
[6] κενοπαθεῖν A, B, C, D, E.
[7] ἐνεθεώρησεν . . . λόγος om. C, D.

clearly the different colours and yet cannot perceive by our senses any interval that separates the one from the other, conclude, I pray, that you may in the same way draw inferences from analogy regarding the divine dogmas. You may thus reason: that the individual traits of the Persons, which may be compared with a particular hue of the colours of the rainbow, flash their light upon each of those whom we believe to constitute the Holy Trinity; that, however, no difference can be perceived in the individual character of the nature of one as compared with another, although together with their community of substance the distinguishing characteristic traits of each shine forth. For in fact even in our illustration it is one substance which flashes forth that many-coloured ray, even the substance which through the sunbeam is bent back; but the hue of the rainbow we see is multiform. Thus even though a created object, reason teaches us not to allow the discussion of dogma to make us uneasy whenever we fall into a matter difficult to understand and become dizzy when we face the conflict of the different propositions. For just as in the case of things which appear to our eyes experience seems better than a theory of causation, so too in the case of dogmas which transcend our comprehension faith is better than apprehension through processes of reasoning, for faith teaches us to understand that which is separated in person but at the same time united in substance. Since, therefore, reason has distinguished an element common to the Persons of the Trinity as well as an element peculiar to each, what reason shows is common is referred

[8] εἰς from κατὰ alia m. F.

οὐσίαν ἀνάγεται, ἡ δὲ ὑπόστασις τὸ ἰδίαζον ἑκάστου σημεῖόν ἐστιν.

Ἀλλ' ἴσως οἴεταί τις μὴ συμβαίνειν τὸν ἀποδοθέντα περὶ τῆς ὑποστάσεως λόγον τῇ διανοίᾳ τῆς τοῦ ἀποστόλου γραφῆς, ἐν οἷς φησὶ περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου, ὅτι Ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως. εἰ γὰρ ὑπόστασιν ἀποδεδώκαμεν εἶναι τὴν συνδρομὴν τῶν περὶ ἕκαστον ἰδιωμάτων, ὁμολογεῖται δέ, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πατρός, εἶναί τι τὸ ἰδιαζόντως ἐπιθεωρούμενον, δι' οὗ μόνος ἐπιγινώσκεται,[1] κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς τὸ ἴσον πιστεύεται· πῶς ἐνταῦθα τὸ τῆς ὑποστάσεως ὄνομα τῷ Πατρὶ μόνῳ προσμαρτυρεῖ ἡ Γραφή, τὸν δὲ Υἱὸν μορφὴν λέγει τῆς ὑποστάσεως, οὐκ ἐν ἰδίοις, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Πατρὸς γνωρίσμασι χαρακτηριζόμενον; εἰ γὰρ ἡ ὑπόστασις τὸ ἰδίαζον τῆς ἑκάστου ὑπάρξεως σημεῖόν ἐστι, τοῦ δὲ Πατρὸς ἴδιον τὸ ἀγεννήτως εἶναι ὁμολογεῖται, μεμόρφωται δὲ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῖς τοῦ Πατρὸς ἰδιώμασιν, ἄρα οὐκέτι διαμένει τῷ Πατρὶ κατ' ἐξαίρετον ἐπ'[2] αὐτοῦ μόνου τὸ ἀγέννητον λέγεσθαι, εἴπερ τῷ ἰδιάζοντι τοῦ Πατρὸς[3] ἡ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς χαρακτηρίζεται ὕπαρξις.

Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς τοῦτό φαμεν, ὅτι ἕτερον πληροῖ σκοπὸν ἐνταῦθα τῷ ἀποστόλῳ[4] ὁ λόγος, πρὸς ὃν

[1] ἐπιγνώσεται B. [2] ἐπ' from ὑπ' alia m. F.
[3] καὶ add. A, B, C, D, E, F. [4] τοῦ ἀποστόλου F.

to the substance, and the Person is the individualizing note of each member of the Trinity.

But perhaps someone thinks that the doctrine of the person here presented does not agree with the conception in the writings of the apostle, where he[1] says that the Lord is the brightness of His glory and the figure of His person. For if we have taught that person is the conflux of the individual traits of each member of the Trinity, and if all agree, as in the case of the Father, that that trait which is individually observed is something whereby that member alone is recognized, and if in the same way we hold the like belief about the Only-begotten also; how then does it happen that the Scriptures in the passage quoted testify to the term "person" for the Father alone, and speak of the Son as the form "of his person" or "hypostasis," as being characterized, that is, not by His own proper distinguishing notes but by those of the Father? For if the person or "hypostasis" is the distinctive sign of the existence of the several members of the Trinity, but being "unbegotten" is acknowledged to be peculiar to the Father, and the Son has been formed by the individual traits of the Father, then there no longer remains to the Father exclusively to be called "unbegotten" in a sense peculiar to Himself alone, if indeed the existence of the Only-begotten is characterized by the individual note peculiar to the Father.

But our answer is this, that the statement of the passage quoted fulfils a different purpose for the

[1] Cf. Heb. 1. 3, where St. Paul uses the word ὑπόστασις, "person."

βλέπων ταύταις ἐχρήσατο ταῖς φωναῖς· δόξης ἀπαύγασμα λέγων, καὶ χαρακτῆρα τῆς ὑποστάσεως· ὅνπερ ὁ ἀκριβῶς νοήσας οὐδὲν εὑρήσει τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν εἰρημένοις μαχόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐπί τινος[1] ἰδιαζούσης ἐννοίας τὸν λόγον διεξαγόμενον. οὐ γὰρ ὅπως διακριθεῖεν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων αἱ ὑποστάσεις διὰ τῶν ἐπιφαινομένων σημείων ὁ ἀποστολικὸς πραγματεύεται λόγος, ἀλλ' ὅπως τὸ γνήσιόν τε καὶ ἀδιάστατον καὶ συνημμένον τῆς τοῦ Υἱοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα σχέσεως νοηθείη. καὶ[2] γὰρ οὐκ εἶπεν, Ὃς ὢν δόξα τοῦ Πατρός, καίτοιγε τὸ ἀληθὲς οὕτως ἔχει, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο παραλιπὼν ὡς ὁμολογούμενον, τὸ μὴ ἄλλο τι δόξης εἶδος ἐπὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ἕτερον ἐπὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ νοεῖν διδάσκων, αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς δόξης ἀπαύγασμα τὴν τοῦ Μονογενοῦς διορίζεται δόξαν, τὸ ἀδιαστάτως[3] συνεπινοεῖσθαι τῷ Πατρὶ τὸν Υἱὸν κατασκευάζων ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ φῶς ὑποδείγματος. ὡς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς φλογὸς μὲν ἡ αὐγή, οὐ μὴν ὑστέρα μετὰ τὴν φλόγα ἐστὶν ἡ αὐγή, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ τε ἡ φλὸξ ἀνέλαμψε, καὶ συναπηυγάσθη τὸ φῶς· οὕτω βούλεται καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μὲν τὸν Υἱὸν νοεῖσθαι, οὐ μὴν παρατάσει τινὶ διαστηματικῇ[4] τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑπάρξεως τὸν Μονογενῆ διορίζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τῷ αἰτίῳ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ συνυπολαμβάνειν.

Κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν οὖν τρόπον, ὥσπερ ἐφερμηνεύων τὸν προαποδοθέντα νοῦν, καὶ ὑποστάσεως χαρακτῆρά φησι, τοῖς σωματικοῖς ἡμᾶς ὑποδείγμασι[5] πρὸς[6] τὴν τῶν ἀοράτων χειραγωγῶν

[1] τινος from τῆς alia m. F.
[2] ὡς editi; καὶ F.
[3] ἀδιασπάστως E.
[4] διαστιματικῇ E.
[5] ὑποδείγμασι from δόγμασι alia m. F.

apostle, which purpose he had in mind when he used the words "the brightness of His glory and the figure of His person." And if you reach an accurate understanding of this purpose, you will find nothing that contradicts our statements, but that, on the contrary, his argument is carried on with a certain peculiar intent. The intention of the apostle is not to distinguish the Persons from one another by their evident marks, but to establish the true sonship, the indivisibility, and the intimacy of the relationship of the Son to the Father. For he does not say, "who being the glory of the Father," although this is the truth, but he takes this for granted, and in his endeavour to teach us not to conceive of one kind of glory in the Father and another in the Son, he defines the glory of the Only-begotten as the "brightness of the glory" of the Father, causing the Son to be associated inseparably with the Father in our thoughts by making use of the light by way of illustration. For just as the radiance is from the flame, and surely not after the flame, but at the very moment that the flame is kindled, the light also beams forth as brightness; so the apostle wishes the Son to be considered as from the Father, not surely that the Only-begotten should by any extent that forms an interval be separated from the existence of the Father, but that our minds should always conceive with the causing principle that which proceeds from it.

Then in the same manner, as if to interpret the preceding notion, he says, "and the figure of his person," conducting us by corporeal illustrations to the

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[6] πρὸς from καὶ alia m. F.

κατανόησιν. ὡς γὰρ τὸ σῶμα πάντως ἐστὶν ἐν σχήματι, ἀλλ' ἕτερος μὲν ὁ τοῦ σχήματος,[1] ἕτερος δὲ ὁ τοῦ σώματος[2] λόγος, καὶ οὐκ ἄν τις ἀποδιδοὺς τὸν ἑκατέρου τούτων ὁρισμὸν συνενεχθείη τῷ περὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου· πλὴν ἀλλὰ κἂν λόγῳ διακρίνῃς[3] τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ σώματος, ἡ φύσις οὐ παραδέχεται τὴν διάκρισιν, ἀλλὰ συνημμένως νοεῖται μετὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸ ἕτερον· οὕτως οἴεται δεῖν ὁ ἀπόστολος, κἂν ὁ τῆς πίστεως λόγος ἀσύγχυτον καὶ διῃρημένην τὴν τῶν ὑποστάσεων διδάσκῃ διαφοράν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ προσεχὲς καὶ οἱονεὶ συμφυὲς τοῦ Μονογενοῦς πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα διὰ τῶν εἰρημένων παριστάναι,[4] οὐχ ὡς οὐκ ὄντος ἐν ὑποστάσει καὶ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς, ἀλλ' ὡς οὐ παραδεχομένου μεσότητά τινα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα ἑνώσεως· ὥστε τὸν τῷ χαρακτῆρι τοῦ Μονογενοῦς διὰ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ὀμμάτων ἐνατενίσαντα καὶ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑποστάσεως ἐν περινοίᾳ γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἐπαλλασσομένης οὐδὲ συναναμιγνυμένης τῆς ἐπιθεωρουμένης[5] αὐτοῖς ἰδιότητος, ὡς ἢ τῷ Πατρὶ τὴν γέννησιν, ἢ τῷ Υἱῷ τὴν ἀγεννησίαν ἐπιμορφάζειν, ἀλλ' ὡς οὐκ ἐνδεχόμενον τὸ ἕτερον τοῦ ἑτέρου διαζεύξαντας,[6] ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ μόνου[7] καταλαβεῖν[8] τὸ λειπόμενον. οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστι δυνατόν, Υἱὸν ὀνομάσαντα, μὴ καὶ Πατρὸς ἐν περινοίᾳ γενέσθαι, σχετικῶς τῆς προσηγορίας ταύτης καὶ τὸν Πατέρα συνεμφαινούσης.

[1] σώματος F. [2] σχήματος F. [3] διακρίνῃ C, D, F.
[4] παρίστησιν editi; παριστάναι R. J. D.
[5] ἐπιθεωρούσης E. [6] διαζεύξαντος E. [7] μόνον C, D.
[8] καταλαβεῖν from καταλαμβάνειν alia m. F.

understanding of things invisible. For as the body consists altogether in form, although the principle of the form is different from that of the body, and no one in giving a definition of each would identify it with the definition given for the other—with this difference, however, that even if by reason you separate form from body, nature does not admit of the separation, but the one is always thought of in connection with the other; just so the apostle thinks that, even if the doctrine of the faith teaches that the different Persons are unconfounded and distinct from one another, he is bound to set forth in the words above quoted the continuity and as it were congenital unity of the Only-begotten in relation to the Father; and he states this, not as if the Only-begotten were not also in "hypostasis" or person,[1] but as if He did not admit any interspace interrupting His oneness with the Father; so that he who gazes intently with his soul's eyes upon the "figure" of the Only-begotten at the same time becomes keenly aware of the "hypostasis" or person of the Father, their recognized individuality not being transferred from one to the other nor yet intermingled, so that we could falsely ascribe either begottenness to the Father or unbegottenness to the Son, but that, if we should disunite the one from the other—an impossible thing—we should apprehend alone by itself the one remaining. For in naming the Son it is impossible not to be keenly aware of the Father also, the appellation "Son" implicitly connoting the Father as well.

[1] *i.e.* not in the sense that the relationship between the Father and Son is merely a figure of speech and that the Father and the Son are not distinct Persons.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ὁ ἑωρακὼς τὸν Υἱὸν ὁρᾷ τὸν Πατέρα, καθώς φησιν ἐν εὐαγγελίοις ὁ Κύριος, διὰ τοῦτο χαρακτῆρά φησιν εἶναι τὸν Μονογενῆ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑποστάσεως. καὶ ὡς ἂν μᾶλλον ἐπιγνωσθείη τὸ νόημα, καὶ ἄλλας συμπαραληψόμεθα τοῦ ἀποστόλου φωνάς, ἐν αἷς εἰκόνα τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, καὶ τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ πάλιν εἰκόνα φησίν, οὐχὶ τῷ διαφέρειν τοῦ ἀρχετύπου τὴν εἰκόνα κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀορασίας καὶ τῆς ἀγαθότητος λόγον, ἀλλ' ἵνα δειχθῇ ὅτι ταὐτὸν τῷ πρωτοτύπῳ ἐστί, κἂν ἕτερον ᾖ. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὁ τῆς εἰκόνος διασωθείη λόγος, εἰ μὴ διὰ πάντων τὸ ἐναργὲς ἔχοι[1] καὶ ἀπαράλλακτον. οὐκοῦν ὁ τὸ τῆς εἰκόνος κατανοήσας κάλλος ἐν περινοίᾳ τοῦ ἀρχετύπου γίνεται. καὶ ὁ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὴν οἱονεὶ μορφὴν τῇ διανοίᾳ λαβὼν τῆς πατρικῆς ὑποστάσεως τὸν χαρακτῆρα ἀνετυπώσατο, βλέπων διὰ τούτου ἐκεῖνον, οὐ τὴν ἀγεννησίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐν τῷ ἀπεικονίσματι βλέπων (ἢ γὰρ ἂν δι' ὅλου ταὐτὸν ἦν καὶ οὐχ ἕτερον), ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀγέννητον κάλλος ἐν τῷ γεννητῷ κατοπτεύσας. ὥσπερ γὰρ[2] ὁ ἐν τῷ καθαρῷ κατόπτρῳ τὴν γενομένην τῆς μορφῆς ἔμφασιν κατανοήσας, ἐναργῆ τοῦ ἀπεικονισθέντος προσώπου τὴν γνῶσιν ἔσχεν, οὕτως ὁ τὸν Υἱὸν ἐπιγνοὺς τὸν χαρακτῆρα τῆς πατρικῆς ὑποστάσεως, διὰ τῆς τοῦ Υἱοῦ γνώσεως,

[1] ἔχει E. [2] γὰρ om. A, B, C, D, F.

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[1] Cf. John 14. 9: Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Τοσοῦτον χρόνον μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμί, καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωκάς με, Φίλιππε; ὁ ἑωρακὼς ἐμὲ ἑώρακε τὸν πατέρα. "Jesus saith to him, Have I been so long a time with you: and have you not known me, Philip? He that seeth Me seeth the Father also."

Therefore, since he that hath seen the Son seeth the Father also, as the Lord says in the Gospels,[1] on this account the apostle says that the Only-begotten is "the figure of His (that is, the Father's) person." And in order that the thought may be more clearly perceived, we shall take up still other expressions of the apostle, where he[2] speaks of the Son as "the image of the invisible God," and again[3] as the "image of His goodness," using the word "image" not by reason of any difference between image and archetype so far as the principles of invisibility and goodness are concerned, but that it may be shown that the image is identical with the prototype, even though it is different. For the principle of the image would not be preserved, unless it should in all respects retain the manifest and invariable likeness to the original. Accordingly, he who has conceived the beauty of the image is keenly aware of the archetype. And he who grasps in thought the "form," so to speak, of the Son images "the figure of His (the Father's) person" or "hypostasis," seeing the latter through the former, not seeing, however, in the copy any unbegottenness of the Father (for in that case the Son would assuredly be completely identical with the Father and not different), but discerning the unbegotten beauty in the Begotten. For just as one, perceiving in a bright mirror the reflection of a shape that appears therein, receives a definite knowledge of the imaged face, so he who recognizes the Son, through his knowledge of the Son receives in his heart the "figure of His (the

[2] Col. 1. 15.
[3] Wis. 7. 26. These are not the words of the apostle, but are ascribed to Solomon.

ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἐδέξατο.[1] *πάντα γὰρ τὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ καθορᾶται, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Πατρός ἐστιν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὅλος ὁ Υἱὸς ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ μένει καὶ ὅλον ἔχει πάλιν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν Πατέρα. ὥστε ἡ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὑπόστασις οἱονεὶ μορφὴ καὶ πρόσωπον γίνεται τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐπιγνώσεως· καὶ ἡ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑπόστασις ἐν τῇ τοῦ Υἱοῦ μορφῇ ἐπιγινώσκεται, μενούσης αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐπιθεωρουμένης ἰδιότητος εἰς διάκρισιν ἐναργῆ τῶν ὑποστάσεων.*

XXXIX

Ἰουλιανὸς Βασιλείῳ[2]

Ἡ μὲν παροιμία φησίν, Οὐ πόλεμον ἀγγέλλεις, ἐγὼ δὲ προσθείην ἐκ τῆς κωμῳδίας, Ὦ χρυσὸν ἀγγείλας ἐπῶν. ἴθι οὖν, ἔργοις αὐτὸ δεῖξον,

[1] *εἰσεδέξατο* E; *εἰσεδέξατο* from *ἐδέξατο* alia m. F.
[2] This letter is not to be found in any of the six MSS. examined by the writer.

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[1] Cf. John 14. 10: *οὐ πιστεύεις ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ πατρί, καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοί ἐστι; τὰ ῥήματα ἃ ἐγὼ λαλῶ ὑμῖν, ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ οὐ λαλῶ. ὁ δὲ πατὴρ ὁ ἐν ἐμοὶ μένων, αὐτὸς ποιεῖ τὰ ἔργα*, etc. "Do you not believe that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me? The words that I speak to you, I speak not of Myself. But the Father who abideth in Me, He doth the works," etc.

[2] Thus Basil expresses the orthodoxy of the Trinity in one phrase: *μία οὐσία, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις*, "one substance, three persons." Never again in his writings does he use *ὑπόστασις* in its earlier sense, as equivalent to *οὐσία*. Cf. Athan. *Orat. contra Arianos*, iii. 64 and iv. 33.

[3] This letter of Julian, the Emperor, is addressed to a certain Basil, but in all probability not to ours. In fact,

Father's) person" or "hypostasis." For all the attributes of the Father are beheld in the Son, and all the attributes of the Son belong to the Father, in so much as the Son abides wholly in the Father and in turn has the Father wholly in Himself.[1] Thus the person or "hypostasis" of the Son becomes as it were the form and countenance by which the Father is made known, and the person or "hypostasis" of the Father is made known in the form of the Son, although their observed individuality abides in each to serve as a clear differentiation of their persons or "hypostases."[2]

LETTER XXXIX

Julian to Basil[3]

The proverb[4] says, "Thou comest not as messenger of war," but I would add a phrase from comedy,[5] "O messenger of golden words." Come

apart from the information in these letters (XXXIX, XL, XLI), nothing is known of Basil's acquaintance with Julian, except that, by reason of having attended the University of Athens at about the same time, they probably had met. Furthermore, the letter does not appear in any of the MSS. of Basil. Claude Morel inserted it in his edition of St. Basil in 1618, apparently taking it from some edition of the works of the Emperor Julian. The letter seems to have been written just after Julian became Emperor, in the winter of 361–362, since of that period alone can one say that Julian, as Emperor, enjoyed any leisure. Cf. Bessières; also Bidez and Cumont, *Epistolae Imp. Caesaris Flavii Claudii Iuliani*, London 1922, p. 39; but see, for the opinion that this letter is not addressed to some other Basil, W. C. Wright's *Julian* in L.C.L., introduction Vol. II. p. xli.

[4] Plat. *Legg.* iv. 702 D; *Phaedr.* 242 B.

[5] Aristoph. *Plut.* 268.

καὶ σπεῦδε παρ' ἡμᾶς· ἀφίξῃ γὰρ φίλος παρὰ φίλον.

Ἡ δὲ περὶ τὰ πράγματα κοινὴ καὶ συνεχὴς ἀσχολία δοκεῖ μὲν εἶναί πως τοῖς πάρεργον αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν ἐπαχθής, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐπιμελείας κοινωνοῦντές εἰσιν ἐπιεικεῖς, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, καὶ συνετοί, καὶ πάντως ἱκανοὶ πρὸς πάντα. δίδωμι[1] οὖν μοι ῥᾳστώνην, ὥστε ἐξεῖναι μηδὲν ὀλιγωροῦντι καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι· σύνεσμεν γὰρ ἀλλήλοις οὐ μετὰ τῆς αὐλικῆς ὑποκρίσεως μόνης, ἧς[2] οἶμαί σε μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο πεπειρᾶσθαι, καθ' ἣν ἐπαινοῦντες μισοῦσι τηλικοῦτον μῖσος, ἡλίκον οὐδὲ τοὺς πολεμιωτάτους, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῆς προσηκούσης ἀλλήλους[3] ἐλευθερίας ἐξελέγχοντές τε ὅταν δέῃ καὶ ἐπιτιμῶντες οὐκ ἔλαττον φιλοῦμεν ἀλλήλους τῶν σφόδρα ἑταίρων. ἔνθεν ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν (ἀπείη δὲ φθόνος) ἀνειμένοις τε σπουδάζειν καὶ σπουδάζουσι μὴ ταλαιπωρεῖσθαι, καθεύδειν δὲ ἀδεῶς, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐγρηγορὼς οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, ὡς εἰκός, ἐγρήγορα.

Ταῦτα ἴσως κατηδολέσχησά σου καὶ κατελήρησα, παθών τι βλακῶδες (ἐπῄνεσα γὰρ ἐμαυτόν, ὥσπερ Ἀστυδάμας), ἀλλ' ἵνα σε πείσω προὔργου τι μᾶλλον ἡμῖν τὴν σὴν παρουσίαν,

[1] δίδωσι codd. Jul., sed δίδωμι ed. Bas.
[2] ἧς μόνης ed. Jul.
[3] ἀλλήλοις ed. Jul.

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[1] Cf. Plat. *Menexen.* 247 B.

[2] Julian intimates that his first personal interest is his studies.

[3] *i.e.* to himself, the Emperor.

[4] An Athenian tragic poet of the middle of the fourth century B.C. He wrote a laudatory inscription to be carved

then, prove this in deed, and hasten to us; for you will come as friend to friend.[1]

Routine and unremitting occupation in public affairs seems somehow irksome to those who engage in it as a secondary matter,[2] but those who share with me the responsibility are, I am convinced, honourable, intelligent, and altogether competent for every task. I therefore grant myself a respite, so that without neglect of duty it is permitted to me even to take a holiday. For our association with one another has nothing in it of that mere court hypocrisy—of which I believe you have had experience before—according to which men praise while hating with such a hatred as they do not feel even for their worst enemies, but is attended by a mutually becoming frankness, so that as the occasion demands we refute and reprove one another, yet love one another no less dearly than do the closest comrades. For this reason it is permitted to us[3] (may no envy attend my words!), both in my hours of relaxation to study and in study not to grow weary, but to sleep securely, seeing that even when I am awake it is not so much for myself that I am wakeful but, in all likelihood, for all the rest.

In all this I have perhaps wearied you with my prattling and my idle talk, being afflicted with a sort of dullness of wit (for you see I have been praising myself, as Astydamas[4] did), but I write this letter with the purpose of convincing you that your

upon a pedestal of a bust of himself which the people had voted in his honour, and Philemon the comic poet gibed at him in the line, *σαυτὴν ἐπαινεῖς ὥσπερ Ἀστυδάμας ποτέ*, "You praise yourself, as Astydamas once did." See Philemon, frag. 190 (Kock), and Suidas, *s.v. σαυτὸν ἐπαινεῖς.*

ἅτε ἀνδρὸς ἔμφρονος, ποιήσειν ἢ παραιρήσεσθαί τι τοῦ καιροῦ, ταῦτα ἐπέστειλα. σπεῦδε οὖν, ὅπερ ἔφην, δημοσίῳ χρησόμενος δρόμῳ. συνδιατρίψας δὲ ἡμῖν ἐφ' ὅσον[1] σοι φίλον, οἷπερ ἂν θέλῃς ὑφ' ἡμῶν πεμπόμενος, ὡς προσῆκόν ἐστι, βαδιῇ.

XL

Ἰουλιανὸς Βασιλείῳ[2]

Τὸ ἔμφυτόν μοι ἐκ παιδόθεν γαληνὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος ἐπιδεικνύμενος, πάντας ὑπηκόους ἐκομίσαμεν[3] τοὺς οἰκοῦντας τὴν ὑφ' ἥλιον. ἰδοὺ γὰρ πᾶν γένος βαρβάρων μέχρις ὁρίων Ὠκεανοῦ[4] δῶρά μοι κόμιζον ἧκε παρὰ ποσὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Σαγάδαρες οἱ παρὰ τὸν Δάνουβιν ἐκτραφέντες, οἱ εὐμορφο-

[1] ὅσον codd. Jul.
[2] Ἰουλιανὸς βασιλεὺς Βασιλείῳ E; Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ παραβάτου πρὸς τὸν μέγαν βασίλειον C, D; Ἰουλιανοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον βασίλειον F.
[3] ἐκομισάμην E. [4] ποταμοῦ add. C, D, F.

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[1] The privilege of free transport at the expense of the State, granted to ecclesiastics by Constantine in 314, was revoked by Julian in 362 (*Codex Theodos.* 8. 5, 12), who reserved to himself the right to make exceptions as a special mark of his favour. Cf. Wright's Introd. to Vol. III. of the L.C.L. edition of *Julian*.

[2] This and the following letter (XLI) are unanimously regarded as spurious, and they were so recognized even in Byzantine times; cf. the remark of the Byzantine scholiast (*P.G.* 32, 341): οὔτε τῷ ἤθει, οὔτε τῷ χαρακτῆρι, οὔτε μὴν τῇ λέξει τῆς ἑρμηνείας δοκοῦσί μοι προσήκειν αἱ δύο αὗται ἐπιστολαὶ

presence, as a man of wisdom, will be serviceable rather than cause me to lose any time. Therefore, as I have said, hasten; you will use a State conveyance.[1] When you have stayed with me as long as you like, you will be conveyed by me, and you will go, as is proper, wherever you will.

LETTER XL

Julian to Basil[2]

Although we have always, up to the present time, exhibited that leniency and kindness which have been my natural disposition from boyhood, yet we have brought all the peoples that live under the sun beneath our sway. For lo! every race of barbarians, to the borders of the Ocean, have come bringing us gifts, and have placed them at our feet. And in like manner, even the Sagadares, who live along the Danube[3]—that comely-parti-coloured-

τοῖς ἀνδράσιν οἷς ἀνάκεινται, "Neither in character, nor stamp, nor choice of expression do these two letters seem to me to befit the men to whom they are attributed." These letters also do not appear in most of the best MSS., and from this we must infer that they were introduced into the tradition at a late date. The name of the Emperor Julian brought them prominent attention. The content of the letters seems to have been drawn from a fabulous story of Julian now extant only in a Syriac translation. The assumed date is June or July, 362.

The variant readings of the MSS. are so numerous, that we have seen fit to note only the more significant as found in the MSS. CDEF of St. Basil.

[3] Julian always uses the name "Ister" for the Danube; cf. Wright's *Julian*, Vol. III. Introd., p. xlii.

ποικιλοκανθαρόμορφοι,[1] οἷς οὐκ ἔστι θέα ὁμοιοειδὴς ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ μορφὴ ἀγριαίνουσα, οὗτοι κατὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν προκαλινδοῦνται[2] ἴχνεσι τοῖς ἐμοῖς, ὑπισχνούμενοί μοι ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνα ἅπερ τῇ ἐμῇ πρέπει[3] βασιλείᾳ. οὐχὶ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ μόνῳ ἕλκομαι, ἀλλὰ δεῖ με σὺν πολλῷ τῷ τάχει καταλαβεῖν τὴν Περσῶν καὶ τροπώσασθαι Σάπωριν[4] ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἀπόγονον Δαρείου γεγονότα, ἄχρις οὗ ὑπόφορος καὶ ὑποτελής μοι γένηται· ἐν ταὐτῷ[5] δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰνδῶν καὶ τὴν[6] Σαρακηνῶν περιοικίδα ἐκπορθῆσαι, ἄχρις οὗτοι πάντες ἐν δευτέρᾳ τάξει τῆς ἐμῆς γένωνται ὑπόφοροι καὶ ὑποτελεῖς.

Ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐπέκεινα τῆς τούτων δυνάμεως πεφρόνηκας, εὐλάβειαν λέγων ἐνδεδύσθαι, ἀναίδειαν δὲ προβαλλόμενος·[7] καὶ πανταχοῦ διαφημίζων ἀνάξιόν με τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας γεγονέναι. ἢ οὐκ οἶσθα αὐτὸς ὡς Κωνσταντίου[8] τοῦ κρατίστου ἀπόγονος γέγονα; καὶ τούτων οὕτω γνωσθέντων ἡμῖν σοῦ εἵνεκα, οὐδὲ τῆς προτέρας ἐξέστημεν διαθέσεως, ἧς ἔτι νέοι ὄντες τῇ ἡλικίᾳ[9] ἐγώ τε καὶ σὺ μετεσχήκαμεν. ἀλλὰ γαληνῷ τῷ φρονήματι θεσπίζω δέκα ἑκατοντάδας χρυσίου λιτρῶν ἐξαποσταλῆναί μοι παρὰ σοῦ ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ μου[10] τῇ κατὰ τὴν Καίσαρος, ἔτι μου κατὰ τὴν λεωφόρον ὑπάρχοντος, σὺν πολλῷ τῷ τάχει ἀφικνουμένου μου ἐπὶ τὸν Περσικὸν πόλεμον·[11] ἑτοίμου ὄντος μου,[12] εἰ μὴ τοῦτο

[1] εὐμορφοποικιλοκανθαρόμορφοι C, D; εὐμορφοποικιλοκαρόμορφοι F; εὐμορφοποικιλοκαθαρόμορφοι editi.

[2] προκυλινδοῦνται F.

[3] πρέπει] ἁρμόζει E, F.

[4] Σάπφωριν E.

[5] ἐν ταὐτῷ] ἐνταῦθα F.

beetle-shaped folk, whose appearance has no likeness to human kind, and whose shape is savage—these at the present grovel before my feet, and promise to do whatever accords with my sovereignty. And not by all this alone am I harried, but I must now with all speed overthrow the Empire of Persia and rout Saporis, that descendant of Darius, until he becomes my tributary and pays me taxes; and at the same time I must pillage the border-lands of both the Indians and Saracens, until all these peoples, taking second place in my Empire, become tributary to it, and pay us taxes.

But you yourself have surpassed the power of these in arrogance, claiming to have put on piety, and cloaking yourself with shamelessness, and everywhere spreading it abroad that I have proved myself unworthy to be Emperor of the Romans. Do you not know of yourself that I am a descendant of the mighty Constantine? Although all these things, as stated, have been known to us concerning you, we have not abandoned that former regard which we both felt for one another in our youth. Nay, out of my spirit of leniency I decree that a thousand pounds of gold be delivered to me by you as I pass through Caesarea, before I have yet left the highway, as I hasten at full speed to the Persian war; for I am ready, if you do not obey in this, to lay

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6 *τῶν* E, F.
7 *περιβαλλόμενος* (*περι* in ras. et in marg., alia m.) F.
8 *κωνσταντοῦ* C, D, E.
9 *τὴν ἡλικίαν* F.
10 *μου* om. C, D, F.
11 *ἐπὶ τὸν Περσικὸν πόλεμον*] *κατὰ τὴν Περσῶν* E, F.
12 *ἑτοίμου ὄντος μου*] *καὶ* C, D.

ποιήσεις, πάντα τόπον[1] ἀνασκευάσαι τῆς[2] Καίσαρος, καὶ τὰ πάλαι αὐτῆς ἐγηγερμένα καλλιουργήματα[3] καταστρέψαι, καὶ κατὰ τόπον ναούς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα ἀναστῆσαι, ὥστε με πείσειν[4] πάντας εἴκειν βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ μὴ ὑπεραίρεσθαι. τὸ οὖν ἐξονομασθὲν χρυσίον ἐξαριθμοζυγοκαμπανοτρυτανίσας καὶ διαμετρήσας, ἀσφαλῶς ἐξαπόστειλόν μοι[5] δι' οἰκείου πιστοῦ σοι[6] ὄντος, δακτυλίῳ τῷ σῷ σφραγισάμενος, ὥστε με ἐπεγνωκότα κἂν ὀψέ ποτε τοῦ καιροῦ τὸ ἀπαραίτητον, γαληνόν σοι γενέσθαι περὶ τὰ ἐπταισμένα. ἃ δὲ ἀνέγνων, ἔγνων καὶ κατέγνων.[7]

XLI

Βασίλειος Ἰουλιανῷ πρὸς ταῦτα[8]

Μικρά σου[9] τὰ τῆς παρούσης τύχης ἀνδραγαθήματα, καὶ φαῦλα τὰ τῆς ἀριστείας, ἧς αὐτὸς ἠρίστευσας καθ' ἡμῶν, οὐχὶ δὲ καθ' ἡμῶν,[10] ἀλλὰ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ.[11] ἐγὼ δὲ τρόμῳ συνέχομαι ὅταν λάβω κατὰ νοῦν πορφυρίδα σε περιβεβλῆσθαι,[12] στεφάνῳ δὲ τὴν ἄτιμον κεκοσμῆσθαί σου κεφα-

1 πάντα τόπον] ἑτοίμως ἔχω C, D. 2 τὴν C, D.
3 καλλιεργήματα F. 4 πεῖσαι D, E.
5 μοι τεὶ συνίδης E, F. 6 σου E, F.
7 ἃ δὲ ἀνέγνων, ἔγνων καὶ κατέγνων om. C, D, E, MSS. Juliani.
8 Sic E; βασίλειος Ἰουλιανῷ παραβάτῃ πρὸς ταῦτα F; βασίλειος πρὸς ταῦτα τῷ παραβάτῃ C, D.
9 σοι C, D, E, F. 10 καθ' ἡμῶν om. C, D.
11 κατὰ σεαυτοῦ C, D, F.
12 ὅπερ ἔστι βασιλικὸν πρόβλημα gloss. C, D, E, F, MSS. Jul.

waste every spot in Caesarea, to level to the ground its splendid structures erected long ago, and in their places to set up temples and images of the gods, that I may persuade all men to yield to the Emperor of the Romans, and not unduly exalt themselves. Therefore have the stipulated sum counted-out-weighed-in-scales-and-balances and duly measured; seal it with your own ring, and in the care of a servant faithful to you send it safely to me, that I, recognizing, however tardily, the exigencies of the times,[1] may become lenient with you for your failings. What I have read I have understood, and have condemned.[2]

LETTER XLI

Basil to Julian, a Reply to the Preceding [3]

Trivial are the gallant exploits of your present high fortune, and paltry are those of your own prowess as exhibited in your heroic action against us —no, not against us, but against yourself. As for me, I am seized with trembling when I realize that you have been clothed in purple, and that your dishonoured head has been adorned with a crown;

[1] There was urgent business ahead of Julian (the Persian war); recognizing its importance he would, if he got the money, pass on and let Basil go.

[2] Compare the last sentence in Basil's alleged reply, Letter XLI. There is little MS. authority for either of these remarks.

[3] Generally regarded as spurious, cf. previous letter, note 1. The assumed date is the same as for the preceding letter.

λήν, ὅπερ δίχα εὐσεβείας οὐκ ἔντιμον,[1] ἀλλ' ἄτιμον καθίστησί σου τὴν βασιλείαν. ἀλλ' αὐτός, ἐπανελθὼν καὶ ὑπερμεγέθης γενόμενος, ὥς γε φαῦλοι καὶ μισόκαλοι δαίμονες εἵλκυσάν σε εἰς τοῦτο,[2] οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν φύσιν ἀνθρώπων φρονεῖν ἤρξω,[3] ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Θεὸν ὑπεραίρεσθαι, καὶ τὴν πάντων μητέρα καὶ τιθηνὸν Ἐκκλησίαν ἐνυβρίζειν,[4] μηνύσει χρησάμενος πρός με τὸν εὐτελέστατον χιλιάδα χρυσίου λιτρῶν ἐξαποσταλῆναί σοι παρ' ἐμοῦ.

Καὶ ἡ μὲν τοῦ χρυσίου ὁλκὴ οὐκ ἐθάμβησέ μου τὴν διάνοιαν, εἰ καὶ μάλα πολλὴ καθέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ δακρῦσαί με πικρῶς παρεσκεύασεν ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ ταχίστῃ σου ἀπωλείᾳ. ἐντεθύμημαι γὰρ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὡς ἐγώ τε αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ σὴ καλοκἀγαθία κοινῶς μεμαθήκαμεν τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ βέλτιστα γράμματα. ἑκάτεροι[5] δὲ διεξήλθομεν τὰς ἁγίας καὶ θεοπνεύστους Γραφάς, καὶ ἐλάνθανε μέν σε τότε οὐδέν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ παρόντος ἀκόσμητος καθέστηκας, ὑπὸ τοιούτου φρονήματος στρατοπεδευθείς.[6] ᾔδεις ἡμᾶς πρὸ τῆς χθές, γαληνότατε, ἐπ' ἀπληστίᾳ χρημάτων μὴ πολιτεύεσθαι· νῦν δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν δέκα ἑκατοντάδας χρυσίου λιτρῶν ἐξαποσταλῆναί σοι[7] ἐπεζήτησας παρ' ἡμῶν. φείσασθαι ἡμῶν τοίνυν θέλησον, γαληνότατε, τοσαῦτα[8] κεκτημένων ὅσα, ἂν τήμερον θελήσωμεν φαγεῖν,[9] οὐκ ἐξαρκέσει ἡμῖν. ἀργεῖ γὰρ ὡς εἰκὸς παρ' ἡμῖν μαγείρων τέχνη, μάχαιρα δὲ αὐτῶν αἵμασιν οὐ προσομιλεῖ. τὰ μέγιστα τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν βρωμάτων, ἐν οἷς ἡ δαψίλεια,

[1] ἔνδοξον F.
[2] περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα for εἰς τοῦτο F.
[3] ἤρξω om. C, D, E.
[4] ἐπιχειρεῖς add. F.

for all this without piety is not honourable, but renders your reign dishonoured. But it is you yourself who, when you returned[1] and became exceedingly great (though vile and malicious demons dragged you to this eminence!), began not only to be arrogant beyond all human kind, but even to exalt yourself to divinity and to insult the Church, the mother of all and nurse, by issuing a summons to my most unworthy self that a thousand pounds of gold be delivered to you by me.

Now the weight of the gold did not astound my spirit, very great as it was; but it did cause me to weep bitterly over your so speedy destruction. For I recalled to my thoughts how your excellency and I together studied the sacred and best literature. Each of us read the holy and divinely-inspired Scriptures through, and at that time nothing escaped you, although at the present time you have become unruly, beleaguered by that arrogance of yours. It was only the day before yesterday, most lenient sir, that you knew that I was living in no satiety of wealth, and yet now this very day you have demanded that a thousand pounds of gold be delivered to you by me. Be pleased to spare us, therefore, most lenient sir, for the total of my provisions will not be enough, if we desire to eat to-day, to suffice for my needs. For the art of cooking is, very properly, not practised in my house, and my cook's knife has no dealings with blood. The chief of my foods, wherein lies

[1] Julian returned to Constantinople from Gaul on Dec. 11, 361, becoming Emperor on the death of Constantius.

[5] καθ' ἑκάτερον C, D. [6] στρατοπαιδευθείς C, D.
[7] ἐξαποσταλῆναί σοι om. E, F, MSS. Jul.
[8] ἡμῶν add. E, F. [9] χορτασθῆναι F.

χόρτων φύλλα σὺν ἄρτῳ τραχυτάτῳ[1] *καὶ τῷ ἐξεστηκότι οἴνῳ· ὥστε μὴ ἐκθαμβούμενα*[2] *ἡμῶν τὰ αἰσθητήρια ὑπὸ τῆς γαστριμαργίας ἐπ' ἀφροσύνῃ πολιτεύεσθαι.*

Ἀπήγγειλε δέ μοι καὶ τοῦτο Λαῦσος ὁ σὸς[3] *περίβλεπτος τριβοῦνος, ὁ γνήσιός σοι περὶ τὰ ἐσπουδασμένα, ὡς γυνή τις προσέλευσιν ἐποιήσατο ἐπὶ τῆς σῆς γαληνότητος ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ παιδὸς αὐτῆς φαρμακευθέντος, καὶ ὡς κέκριται παρ' ὑμῶν φαρμακοὺς μὲν μηδαμοῦ εἶναι, ὄντας δὲ ἀναιρεῖσθαι, ἢ ἐκείνους μόνους περιποιεῖσθαι οἷς ἡ μάχη πρὸς τὰ θηρία. καὶ τοῦτο, ὀρθῶς κριθὲν παρ' ὑμῶν,*[4] *ξένον μοι πέφηνε. παντὸς γὰρ γέλωτος ἀνάμεστον τυγχάνει, πῶς τὰ μεγάλα ἄλγη τῶν τραυμάτων μικροῖς φαρμάκοις ἐπιχειρεῖς θεραπεύειν.*[5] *Θεὸν γὰρ ἐνυβρίσας, χηρῶν καὶ ὀρφανῶν μάτην πρόνοιαν ποιῇ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ μανικὸν καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον, τὸ δὲ φιλοικτίρμονος καὶ συμπαθοῦς.*

Ἐπαχθὲς ἡμῖν λέγειν πρὸς βασιλέα, ἰδιώτας ὄντας, ἐπαχθέστερον δέ σοι φανήσεται τὸ λέγειν πρὸς Θεόν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων φανήσεται. ἃ μέντοι ἀνέγνως, οὐκ ἔγνως· εἰ γὰρ ἔγνως, οὐκ ἂν κατέγνως.[6]

[1] *βραχυτάτῳ* C, D.
[2] *ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι* C, D, E, MSS. Jul.
[3] *σὸς* om. E, F.
[4] *ὑμῖν* F.
[5] *ἐπιχειρεῖς θεραπεύειν*] *ἰατρεύειν ἐπιχειρεῖς* F.
[6] *ἃ μέντοι ἀνέγνως, οὐκ ἔγνως· εἰ γὰρ ἔγνως, οὐκ ἂν κατέγνως* om. C, D, E.

our abundance, are leaves of herbs, very coarse bread, and sour wine; consequently our faculties are not so dulled by gluttony that we devote our life to folly.

Your much-admired tribune Lausus, true companion of your pursuits, told me this also: that a certain woman paid a visit to your lenient self—the occasion being the death of her son by poisoning; and that you decreed that poisoners are not allowed to exist,[1] but that if they do exist, they are to be destroyed—or, at least, that only those may survive who are assigned to fight with the wild beasts. This decision, so wisely decided by you, seemed strange to me. For it is utterly ludicrous that you should attempt to allay the lady's great anguish, caused by the murder, by means of slight remedies.[2] Indeed, after you have insulted God, it is in vain that you provide for widows and orphans. For the one is madness and fraught with danger, whereas the latter beseems a man who is compassionate and moved by sympathy.

It is a grievous thing for us, a private citizen, to speak to an emperor; but it will appear to you still more grievous to speak to God. For no mediator between God and man will be at hand. Now what you have read you have not understood; for if you had understood you would not have condemned.[3]

[1] Cf. St. Cyprian, Letter XV: legibus vestris bene atque utiliter censuistis delatores *non esse*.

[2] The Greek word for "poisons" also means "drugs" or "remedies." There seems to be a play on the two meanings.

[3] Cf. Soz. v. 18, where the closing words of Letter XL are attributed to Julian as addressed "to the bishops," and the closing words of Letter XLI are ascribed to these bishops in answer to Julian. Cf. also note 4 of the previous letter.

XLII

Πρὸς Χίλωνα τὸν αὐτοῦ μαθητήν [1]

Σωτηρίου πράγματος αἴτιος [2] γενήσομαί σοι, ὦ γνήσιε ἀδελφέ, εἰ ἡδέως συμβουλευθείης [3] παρ' ἡμῶν τὰ πρακτέα, μάλιστα περὶ ὧν ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς [4] παρεκάλεσας συμβουλεῦσαί σοι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ κατάρξασθαι τοῦ μονήρους βίου πολλοῖς ἴσως τετόλμηται, τὸ δὲ ἀξίως ἐπιτελέσαι ὀλίγοις τάχα που πεπόνηται. καὶ πάντως οὐκ ἐν προθέσει μόνον [5] τὸ τέλος ὑπάρχει, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ τέλει τὸ κέρδος τῶν πεπονημένων. οὐκοῦν οὐδὲν ὄφελος τοῖς μὴ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ σκοποῦ τέλος ἐπειγομένοις, ἄχρι δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς μόνης ἱστῶσι τὸν τῶν μοναχῶν βίον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ καταγέλαστον καταλιμπάνουσι τὴν ἑαυτῶν πρόθεσιν, ἀνανδρίας καὶ ἀβουλίας παρὰ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐγκαλούμενοι. φησὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ Κύριος περὶ τῶν τοιούτων· Τίς βουλ-

[1] In Codice Mazarinaeo ὁμιλία πρὸς etc. : τοῦ αὐτοῦ μεγάλου βασιλείου πρὸς Χείλωνα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μαθητήν C ; in Codice Regio 2895 haec leguntur : τινὲς τὸν λόγον τοῦτον τοῦ ἁγίου Νείλου εἶναι λέγουσι.

[2] εὖ add. C.

[3] συμβουλευθῇς C.

[4] αὐτὸς om. C.

[5] μόνῃ C.

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[1] This and the three following letters are considered together as having been written before Basil's episcopate. Because of an alleged similarity in style, these letters have also been considered together as regards authenticity (cf. Ceillier, iv. 435–437; Clark, 108), but several important considerations make it necessary to treat each separately.

No ancient MS. of Basil's correspondence contains this letter. It appears first at the end of Parisinus 967 (dated 1377), and on the margin of Regius 2895 we read, "Some say this is the work of the holy Nilus" (died about 430).

LETTER XLII

To Chilo, his Pupil[1]

I shall prove the cause of your salvation, my true brother, if you will willingly be advised by us as to the course of action you should pursue, especially in the matter in which you of your own accord invited us to advise you. Many perhaps have had the temerity to enter upon the solitary life, but few, I am inclined to think, have so laboured as to discharge it worthily to the end. And of course the end is not in the mere intention, but in the end is the reward of our labours. Therefore, there is no guerdon for men who do not carry their purpose through to the goal which is their end, but carry their adoption of the monastic life only as far as the beginning; nay rather, they leave their avowed intention in a ridiculous light, and gain from the world outside the accusation of cowardice and indecision. For even the Lord[2] says of such people: "Who, wishing to build a

Furthermore, it appears in several MSS. of the homilies, where it properly belongs; and it is as a homily that the question of its authenticity should be considered. As far as the style is concerned, it might well be Basil's.

[2] Cf. Luke 14, 28–30: *τίς γὰρ ἐξ ὑμῶν, θέλων πύργον οἰκοδομῆσαι, οὐχὶ πρῶτον καθίσας ψηφίζει τὴν δαπάνην, εἰ ἔχει τὰ πρὸς ἀπαρτισμόν; ἵνα μή ποτε θέντος αὐτοῦ θεμέλιον, καὶ μὴ ἰσχύοντος ἐκτελέσαι, πάντες οἱ θεωροῦντες ἄρξωνται ἐμπαίζειν αὐτῷ, λέγοντες, Ὅτι οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἤρξατο οἰκοδομεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν ἐκτελέσαι.* "For which of you, having a mind to build a tower, doth not first sit down, and reckon the charges that are necessary, whether he have wherewithal to finish it: lest after he hath laid the foundation, and is not able to finish it, all that see it begin to mock him, saying: This man began to build and was not able to finish."

ομενος οἶκον[1] οἰκοδομῆσαι οὐχὶ πρῶτον καθίσας ψηφίζει τὴν δαπάνην, εἰ ἔχει τὰ πρὸς ἀπαρτισμόν; μή ποτε θέντος αὐτοῦ θεμέλιον καὶ μὴ ἰσχύοντος[2] ἐκτελέσαι, ἄρξωνται ἐμπαίζειν αὐτῷ οἱ παραπορευόμενοι λέγοντες, ὅτι ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος θεμέλιον ἔθηκε,[3] καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν[4] ἐκτελέσαι. ἡ οὖν ἀρχὴ ἐχέτω τὴν προκοπὴν προθύμως ἐπὶ τῷ[5] κατορθώματι. καὶ γὰρ[6] ὁ γενναιότατος ἀθλητὴς Παῦλος, βουλόμενος ἡμᾶς[7] μὴ ἐπαμεριμνεῖν τοῖς προβεβιωμένοις[8] ἀγαθοῖς, ἀλλ' ὁσημέραι εἰς τὸ πρόσω[9] προκόπτειν, λέγει·[10] Τῶν ὄπισθεν ἐπιλανθανόμενος, τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος, κατὰ σκοπὸν διώκω[11] ἐπὶ τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως. τοιοῦτος γὰρ ὑπάρχει ὅλος ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος, μὴ ἀρκούμενος τοῖς φθάσασιν, ἀλλὰ τρεφόμενος οὐ τοῖς φθάσασι μᾶλλον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μέλλουσι. τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖ ἄνθρωπον ὁ χθιζὸς τῆς γαστρὸς κόρος, σήμερον τῆς ἐμφύτου πείνης τὴν οἰκείαν τῆς βρώσεως παραμυθίαν μὴ εὑρισκούσης; οὕτως οὖν οὐδὲ ψυχῆς κέρδος τοῦ χθεσινοῦ[12] κατορθώματος, τῆς σημερινῆς ἀπολιμπανομένου δικαιοπραγίας. οἷον γὰρ εὕρω σε, φησί, τοιοῦτόν σε κρινῶ.

Οὐκοῦν μάταιος μὲν τοῦ δικαίου ὁ κόπος, ἀνέγκλητος δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ ὁ τρόπος, ἐπιγενομένης ἐναλλαγῆς, τῷ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείτ-

[1] πῦργον C.
[2] αὐτοῦ add. C.
[3] τέθεικε C.
[4] αὐτὸ add. C.
[5] τῷ] τὸ τῶν κατορθωμάτων τέλος ἐπειγομένῃ. τοῦτο γὰρ διδάσκει ἡμᾶς τῷ οἰκείῳ C.
[6] γὰρ om. C.
[7] βουλόμενος ἡμᾶς om. C.
[8] προβεβιωμένοις] βεβαιουμένοις ἡμῖν C.

house, doth not first sit down, and reckon the charges that are necessary, whether he have wherewithal to finish it? lest, after he hath laid the foundation and is not able to finish it, the passers-by begin to mock him, saying: 'This man has laid a foundation, and was not able to finish.'" Therefore let the beginning contain within itself a zealous striving forward toward a successful accomplishment. Indeed, that most noble athlete Paul,[1] wishing us not to rest secure in the good deeds of our past lives, but to push forward daily, says: "Forgetting the things that are behind, and stretching forth myself to those that are before, I press towards the mark, to the prize of the supernal vocation." For such is the whole life of man—not to be satisfied with what has been, but to be nurtured not so much on the past as on the future. For what does it avail a man to have had a full stomach yesterday, if his natural hunger fails to find the proper solace of food to-day? Just so the reward of the soul also is not for the achievements of yesterday if to-day's righteous conduct is lacking. For He[2] says, "As I find thee, so shall I judge thee."

Therefore in vain is the labour of the righteous, and blameless is even the way of the sinner, if a change takes place afterwards, in the one from

[1] Phil. 3, 13–14.
[2] Cf. Ez. 7, 3: καὶ κρινῶ σε ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς σου. "I will judge thee according to thy ways."

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[9] πρόσω om. C. [10] λέγων C.
[11] διώκων C. [12] χθιζοῦ C.

τονος ἐπὶ[1] *τὸ χεῖρον, τῷ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ χείρονος ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον μεταβληθέντι. ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ Ἰεζεκιὴλ ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ Κυρίου δογματίζοντος ἔστιν ἀκοῦσαι. Ἐὰν γάρ, φησίν, ἐκκλίνας ὁ δίκαιος πλημμελήσῃ, οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ τῶν δικαιοσυνῶν ὧν ἐποίησεν ἔμπροσθεν,*[2] *ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀποθανεῖται. τὸ δὲ αὐτό φησι καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ· Ἐὰν ἐπιστρέψας ποιήσῃ δικαιοσύνην,*[3] *ζωὴν*[4] *ζήσεται ἐν αὐτῇ. ποῦ γὰρ οἱ τοσοῦτοι Μωσῆ τοῦ θεράποντος πόνοι, τῆς ἐν στιγμῇ*[5] *ἀντιλογίας παραγραψαμένης αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας εἴσοδον; ποῦ δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Γιεζῆ συναναστροφὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἐλισσαῖον, φιλοχρηματίας χάριν λέπραν ἐπισπασαμένου; τί δὲ καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῆς σοφίας τῷ Σολομῶντι ὄφελος, καὶ ἡ προλαβοῦσα τοιαύτη ἔννοια εἰς Θεόν, ὕστερον ἐκ τῆς*[6] *γυναικομανίας*[7] *εἰς εἰδωλολατρίαν αὐτοῦ*[8] *ἐκπεπτωκότος; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸν μακάριον Δαβὶδ ὁ μετεωρισμὸς ἀφῆκεν ἀνέγκλητον, διὰ τὴν εἰς τὴν*[9] *τοῦ Οὐρίου πλημμέλειαν. ἤρκει δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἰούδα ἀπὸ τοῦ*[10] *κρείττονος εἰς τὸ χεῖρον μετάπτωσις πρὸς ἀσφάλ-*

1 *εἰς* C. 2 *ἔμπροσθεν* om. C.
3 *ὅτι* add. C. 4 *ζωῇ* C.
5 *τῆς ἐν στιγμῇ*] *τῆς στιγμῆς τῆς* C. 6 *ἐκ τῆς* om. C.
7 *γυναικομανίαις* C. 8 *τούτου* C.
9 *τὴν* om. C. 10 *τῆς* C.

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1 Cf. Ez. 18, 24: *ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀποστρέψαι δίκαιον ἐκ τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ καὶ ποιῆσαι ἀδικίαν κατὰ πάσας τὰς ἀνομίας ἃς ἐποίησεν ὁ ἄνομος, πᾶσαι αἱ δικαιοσύναι αὐτοῦ ἃς ἐποίησεν οὐ μὴ μνησθῶσιν· ἐν τῷ παραπτώματι αὐτοῦ ᾧ παρέπεσεν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις αὐτοῦ αἷς ἥμαρτεν, ἐν αὐταῖς ἀποθανεῖται.* "But if the just man turn himself away from his justice, and do

better to worse, and in the other from worse to better. You may hear even Ezechial[1] lay down this doctrine as it were in the name of the Lord. He says, "If the just man turn away and do iniquity, I shall not remember all his justices which he hath done before, but in his sin he shall die." In like manner does he speak of the sinner, "If he turneth himself and doeth justice, he shall surely live."[2] Where were all the labours of God's servant Moses, when a moment's contradiction cancelled his entrance into the land of promise? Where too was the close companionship of Giezi with Eliseus, when through covetousness he contracted leprosy?[3] Of what benefit to Solomon was his abundance of wisdom and his earlier deep devotion to God, when later through his madness for women he fell into idolatry? Nay, not even the blessed David was left without blame by his exalted state, because he sinned toward the wife of Urias.[4] But Judas' transformation from better to worse alone suffices as an example to safeguard

iniquity according to all the abominations, which the wicked man useth to work, all his justices which he hath done shall not be remembered: in the prevarication, by which he hath prevaricated, and in his sin, which he hath committed, in them he shall die."

[2] Cf. Ez. 18, 27–28: *καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀποστρέψαι ἄνομον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνομίας αὐτοῦ ἧς ἐπυίησεν καὶ ποιῆσαι κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην, οὗτος τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐφύλαξεν. καὶ ὅτι ἀπέστρεψεν ἐκ πασῶν ἀσεβείων αὐτοῦ ὧν ἐποίησεν, ζωῇ ζήσεται, οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ.* "And when the wicked turneth himself away from his wickedness, which he hath wrought, and doeth judgment and justice, he shall save his soul alive. Because he considereth and turneth away himself from all his iniquities which he hath wrought, he shall surely live, and not die."

[3] Cf. 2 Kings 5.

[4] Bathsheba.

ειαν τοῦ κατὰ Θεὸν πολιτευομένου, ὃς ἐν τοσ-ούτοις χρόνοις μαθητευθεὶς τῷ Χριστῷ[1] *ὕστερον μικρῷ λήμματι τὸν διδάσκαλον ἀπεμπολήσας, ἑαυτῷ ἀγχόνην ἐπραγματεύσατο. τοῦτο οὖν γνωστόν σοι ἔστω,*[2] *ἀδελφέ, ὅτι οὐχ ὁ καλῶς ἀρχόμενος, οὗτος τέλειος, ἀλλ' ὁ καλῶς ἀποτι-θέμενος, οὗτος δόκιμος παρὰ Θεῷ.*

Μὴ οὖν δῷς ὕπνον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἀδελφέ, μηδὲ νυσταγμὸν[3] *σοῖς βλεφάροις, ἵνα σωθῇς ὥσπερ δορκὰς ἐκ βρόχων, καὶ ὥσπερ ὄρνεον ἐκ παγίδος. βλέπε γὰρ ὅτι ἐν μέσῳ παγίδων διαβαίνεις, καὶ ἐπάνω τείχους ὑψηλοῦ περιπατεῖς, ὅθεν οὐκ ἀκίνδυνον τῷ καταπεσόντι τὸ πτῶμα. μὴ οὖν εὐθέως εἰς ἀκρότητα ἀσκήσεως ἐκτείνῃς σεαυτόν· μάλιστα μηδὲ*[4] *θαῤῥήσῃς σεαυτῷ, ἵνα μὴ ἐξ ἀπειρίας ἀφ' ὕψους τῆς ἀσκήσεως πέσῃς. κρεῖσσον γὰρ ἡ κατ' ὀλίγον προκοπή. κατὰ μικρὸν οὖν κλέπτε τὰς ἡδονὰς τοῦ βίου, ἐξαφανίζων σεαυτοῦ*[5] *πᾶσαν συνήθειαν, μήποτε ἀθρόως πάσας ὁμοῦ ἐρεθίσας τὰς ἡδονὰς ὄχλον πειρασμῶν σεαυτῷ ἐπαγάγῃς. ἡνίκα δ' ἂν τοῦ ἑνὸς πάθους τῆς ἡδονῆς κατὰ κράτος περιγένῃ, πρὸς τὴν ἑτέραν ἡδονὴν παράταξαι, καὶ οὕτω πασῶν τῶν ἡδονῶν εὐκαίρως περιγενήσῃ. ἡδονῆς γὰρ ὄνομα μὲν ἕν, πράγματα δὲ διάφορα. τοίνυν, ἀδελφέ, ἔσο πρῶτον μὲν ὑπομονητικὸς*[6] *πρὸς πάντα πειρασ-μόν. πειρασμοῖς δὲ ποταποῖς δοκιμάζεται ὁ πιστός; ζημίαις κοσμικαῖς, ἐγκλήμασι, καταψεύσ-μασιν, ἀπειθείαις, καταλαλιαῖς, διωγμοῖς. εἰς ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα δοκιμάζεται ὁ πιστός.*

[1] Κυρίῳ C. [2] *ἔστω* om. C.
[3] *τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς . . . νυσταγμὸν* om. C

one who lives according to the Lord, for after Judas had been Christ's disciple for so long, he later sold his master for a paltry gain, and by his trafficking won for himself a halter. Therefore rest assured of this, brother, that it is not he who begins well that is perfect, but he who finishes well is approved in the sight of God.

Therefore give no sleep to thy eyes, brother, nor slumber to thy eyelids,[1] that thou mayest deliver thyself as a doe from a net, and as a bird from a snare.[2] For, behold, you pass through the midst of snares, and walk about on a high wall, from which the fall is not without danger to him that falls. Accordingly you should not rush straightway at full stretch to the highest pitch of asceticism; and most of all do not be self-confident, lest through inexperience you fall from the height of asceticism. For it is better to advance little by little. Therefore by slow degrees steal away from the pleasures of life and obliterate every habit, lest by provoking all the pleasures at once you bring upon yourself a multitude of trials. When you have mightily overcome one passion of pleasure, array yourself against the next pleasure, and thus in due season you will overcome them all. For there is but one word for pleasure, but different activities. Therefore, brother, first of all be patient under every trial. And what are the trials by which the faithful are tested? Loss of worldly goods, accusations, falsehoods, disobedience, slanders, persecutions. By these and similar tests are the faithful tested.

[1] Cf. Psal. 132, 4. [2] Cf. Psal. 124, 7.

[4] *μηδὲ*] *εἰ μὴ* C. [5] *ἑαυτοῦ* C. [6] *ὑπομονικός* C.

Ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἡσύχιος ἔσο, μὴ προπετὴς ἐν λόγῳ, μὴ ἐριστικός, μὴ φιλόνεικος, μὴ κενόδοξος, μὴ ἐξηγητικός, ἀλλὰ φιλόπιστος, μὴ ἐν λόγῳ πολύς, ἕτοιμος δὲ ἴσθι[1] ἀεί, μὴ πρὸς διδασκαλίαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μάθησιν. μὴ περιεργάζου βίους κοσμικούς, ὅθεν οὐδέν σοι προσγένηται[2] ὄφελος. φησὶ γάρ· Ὅπως ἂν μὴ λαλήσῃ τὸ στόμα μου τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ὁ γὰρ ἡδέως λαλῶν τὰ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν, ἑτοίμως καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐξυπνίζει τὰς ἡδονάς. μᾶλλον δὲ πολυπραγμόνει τὸν τῶν δικαίων βίον· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν εὑρήσεις ἑαυτῷ ὄφελος.[3] μὴ ἔσο φιλενδείκτης,[4] περιάγων τὰς κώμας ἢ τὰς οἰκίας, φεῦγε δὲ ταύτας ὡς ψυχῶν παγίδας. εἰ δέ τις διὰ πολλὴν εὐλάβειαν προτρέπεταί σε εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον, πολλῶν προφάσεων ἕνεκα, μανθανέτω ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀκολουθεῖν τῇ πίστει τοῦ ἑκατοντάρχου, ὃς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ θεραπείας χάριν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπειγομένου παρῃτήσατο λέγων· Κύριε, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς ἵνα μου ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην εἰσέλθῃς, ἀλλὰ μόνον εἰπὲ λόγον, καὶ ἰαθήσεται ὁ παῖς μου. τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ εἰπόντος αὐτῷ· Ὕπαγε, ὡς ἐπίστευσας, γενηθήτω σοι· ἰάθη ὁ παῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης. τοῦτο οὖν γνωστόν σοι ἔστω, ἀδελφέ, ὅτι οὐχ ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσία ἀλλ' ἡ πίστις τοῦ αἰτοῦντος ἠλευθέρωσε τὸν κάμνοντα. οὕτω καὶ νῦν, σοῦ εὐχομένου ἐν ᾧ ἧς τόπῳ, καὶ τοῦ κάμνοντος πιστεύοντος ὅτι ταῖς σαῖς εὐχαῖς βοηθηθήσεται, ἀποβήσεται αὐτῷ πάντα καταθυμίως.

[1] ἔσο C. [2] προσγίνεται C.
[3] φησὶ γάρ . . . ἑαυτῷ ὄφελος om. C.
[4] φιλεκδημητής C.

LETTER XLII

In the second place, be quiet of demeanour, not hasty in speech, nor contentious, quarrelsome, vainglorious, nor given to interpreting texts; but be a man of trust, of few words, and always more ready to learn than to teach. Do not curiously pry into the affairs of the worldly life from which no profit can accrue to you. For it is said, "That my mouth may not speak the works of men." [1] For he who enjoys speaking of the deeds of the sinful readily awakens the pleasures against himself. Busy yourself rather with the lives of the righteous, for in them you will find profit for yourself. Be not ostentatious, going about from village to village or from house to house, but avoid these as snares for the soul. And if anyone out of great piety invites you to enter his house, making many excuses, let such a one be told to imitate the faith of the centurion, who, when Jesus hastened to enter his house to perform a cure, besought Him not to do so, saying: "Lord, I am not worthy that Thou shouldest enter under my roof, but only say the word, and my servant shall be healed." [2] And when Jesus said to him: "Go, and as thou hast believed, so be it done to thee," [3] his servant was healed from that hour. So be thou aware of this, brother, that it was not the presence of Christ but the faith of the suppliant that freed the sick man of his sickness. So also now, if you pray, wherever you may be, and he who is sick believes that he will be aided by your prayers, all things will turn out for him according to his desire.

[1] Psal. 17, 4. [2] Matt. 8, 8.
[3] Matt. 8, 13.

Πλέον δὲ τοῦ Κυρίου τοὺς οἰκείους σου μὴ ἀγαπήσεις.[1] ὁ γὰρ ἀγαπῶν, φησί, πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ἢ ἀδελφοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐμέ, οὐκ ἔστι μου ἄξιος. τί δὲ βούλεται ἡ τοῦ Κυρίου ἐντολή; Εἴ τις, φησίν, οὐκ αἴρει τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ μοι, οὐ δύναταί μου εἶναι μαθητής. εἰ συναπέθανες τῷ Χριστῷ ἀπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν σου τῶν κατὰ σάρκα, τί πάλιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀναστρέφεσθαι[2] θέλεις; εἰ δὲ ἃ κατέλυσας διὰ Χριστόν, πάλιν ταῦτα οἰκοδομεῖς διὰ τοὺς συγγενεῖς σου, παραβάτην σεαυτὸν[3] καθιστᾷς.[4] μὴ οὖν διὰ χρέος τῶν σύγγενῶν σου ἀναχωρήσῃς τοῦ τόπου σου· ἀναχωρῶν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου σου, ἴσως ἀναχωρήσεις ἐκ[5] τοῦ τρόπου σου. μὴ ἔσο ὀχλοχαρής· μὴ φιλόχωρος, μὴ φιλοπολίτης. ἀλλὰ φιλέρημος, ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῷ μένων ἀεὶ ἀμετεωρίστως,[6] τὴν εὐχὴν καὶ τὴν ψαλμῳδίαν ἔργον ἡγούμενος.

Μηδὲ τῶν ἀναγνωσμάτων κατολιγωρήσῃς, μάλιστα[7] τῆς Νέας Διαθήκης, διὰ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης πολλάκις βλάβην ἐγγίνεσθαι, καὶ οὐχ ὅτι ἐγράφη βλαβερά, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι ἡ τῶν βλαπτομένων διάνοια ἀσθενής. πᾶς γὰρ ἄρτος τρόφιμος, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσιν ἐπιβλαβής· οὕτως οὖν πᾶσα Γραφὴ θεόπνευστος καὶ ὠφέλι-

[1] ἀγαπήσῃς C.
[2] ὑποστρέφεσθαι C.
[3] ἑαυτὸν C.
[4] συνιστᾷς C.
[5] ἐκ] καὶ C.
[6] ἀμερίστως C.
[7] μάλιστα] μάθε τὰ C.

LETTER XLII

And thou shalt not love thy kinsmen more than the Lord. For He says, "He that loveth father or mother or brothers more than Me, is not worthy of Me." [1] And what does the Lord's commandment mean? He says, "Whosoever doth not carry his cross and come after Me cannot be My disciple." [2] If, as far as your kinsmen of the flesh are concerned, you have died with Christ, why do you wish to move among them again? And if you build up again for your relatives what you destroyed for Christ, you make yourself an apostate. Do not, therefore, withdraw from your place of living for your relatives' sake; for if you withdraw from your place of living, you will perhaps withdraw from your way of living.[3] Take no pleasure in the crowd; be not fond of your country, nor fond of your fellow-countrymen; but be fond of solitude, abiding always by yourself without wavering, and regarding prayer and the singing of psalms as your work.

Do not neglect your reading, especially the New Testament, for harm often comes from reading the Old Testament, not because anything harmful is written in it, but because the minds of those who are harmed are weak. For all bread is nourishing, although to the sick it is harmful. In like manner all Scripture is divinely inspired and helpful, and

[1] Cf. Matt. 10, 37: *ὁ φιλῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμέ, οὐκ ἔστι μου ἄξιος· καὶ ὁ φιλῶν υἱὸν ἢ θυγατέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμέ, οὐκ ἔστι μου ἄξιος.* "He that loveth father or mother more than Me, is not worthy of Me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than Me, is not worthy of Me."

[2] Luke 14, 27.

[3] The play upon *τόπος*, "place," and *τρόπος*, "character," cannot be exactly reproduced.

μος, καὶ οὐδὲν κοινὸν δι' αὐτῆς, εἰ μὴ τῷ λογιζομένῳ κοινὸν εἶναι, ἐκείνῳ[1] κοινόν. Πάντα δὲ δοκίμαζε· τὸ καλὸν κάτεχε· ἀπὸ παντὸς εἴδους πονηροῦ ἀπέχου. Πάντα[2] γὰρ ἔξεστιν, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα συμφέρει. ἔσο οὖν τοῖς συντυγχάνουσί σοι ἐν πᾶσιν ἀπρόσκοπος, προσχαρής, φιλάδελφος,[3] ἡδύς, ταπεινόφρων, μὴ ἐκπίπτων τοῦ σκοποῦ τῆς φιλοξενίας διὰ βρωμάτων πολυτελείας, ἀρκούμενος δὲ τοῖς παροῦσι, τῆς καθημερινῆς χρείας τοῦ μονήρους βίου μηδὲν πλέον ἀπό τινος λάβῃς· καὶ μάλιστα φύγε τὸν χρυσὸν ὡς ψυχῆς ἐπίβουλον καὶ ἁμαρτίας πατέρα, ὑπουργὸν δὲ τοῦ διαβόλου. μὴ προφάσει τῆς εἰς τοὺς πένητας διακονίας σεαυτὸν[4] ὑπόδικον φιλοχρηματίας καταστήσῃς. εἰ δέ τις πτωχῶν ἕνεκα κομίσει σοι χρήματα, γνῷς δέ τινας εἶναι λειπομένους, αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ, ᾧ ὑπάρχει τὰ χρήματα, ἀποκομίσαι τοῖς ὑστερουμένοις ἀδελφοῖς συμβούλευσον, μήποτε μολύνῃ σου τὴν συνείδησιν ἡ τῶν χρημάτων ὑποδοχή.

Τὰς ἡδονὰς φεῦγε· τὴν ἐγκράτειαν δίωκε· καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα τοῖς πόνοις ἄσκει, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν τοῖς

[1] ἐκεῖνο C. [2] Ἅπαντα C.
[3] φιλάδελφος om. C. [4] ἑαυτὸν C.

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[1] Cf. 2 Tim. 3, 16: πᾶσα γραφὴ θεόπνευστος καὶ ὠφέλιμος πρὸς διδασκαλίαν, πρὸς ἔλεγχον, πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν, πρὸς παιδείαν τὴν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ. "All scripture, inspired of God, is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice."

[2] 1 Thess. 5, 21–22.

[3] Cf. 1 Cor. 6, 12: πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα συμφέρει· πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγὼ ἐξουσιασθήσομαι ὑπό τινος. "All things are lawful to me, but all things are

contains nothing unclean,[1] except that to him who thinks a thing unclean, to him it is unclean. "But prove all things; hold fast that which is good; from all appearance of evil refrain yourselves."[2] For all things are lawful, but not all things are expedient.[3] Therefore, to those who come in contact with you, in all things be without offence,[4] agreeable, loving as a brother,[5] pleasant, and humble of mind; do not forfeit the hospitality[6] you seek by extravagance in food, but be satisfied with what is set before you, taking no more from any man than the daily needs of the solitary life require; and above all things shun gold as plotting against the soul, the father of sin, and the accomplice of the devil. Do not, under the pretence of serving the poor, lay yourself open to the charge of avarice.[7] And if anyone brings you money for the poor, and you know of any who are in need, advise the owner to take his money and himself give it to his less fortunate brethren, lest your conscience be defiled by receiving the money.

Avoid pleasures; seek continence; discipline your body with hard work; and accustom your soul

not expedient. All things are lawful to me, but I will not be brought under the power of any."

[4] Cf. 1 Cor. 10, 32: ἀπρόσκοποι γίνεσθε καὶ Ἰουδαίοις καὶ Ἕλλησι καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ. "Be without offence to the Jews, and to the Gentiles, and to the church of God."

[5] Cf. 1 Peter 3, 8: τὸ δὲ τέλος, πάντες ὁμόφρονες, συμπαθεῖς, φιλάδελφοι, εὔσπλαγχνοι, φιλόφρονες. "And in fine, be ye all of one mind, having compassion one of another, being lovers of the brotherhood, merciful, modest, humble."

[6] The free offerings of the pious, on which the monks depended. Their gluttony would discourage entertainment.

[7] *i.e.* by collecting alms "for the poor" too diligently.

πειρασμοῖς ἔθιζε.[1] τὴν σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς ἀνάλυσιν[2] ἀπαλλαγὴν παντὸς κακοῦ τιθέμενος,[3] ἐκδέχου[4] τῶν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν, ἧς πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μέτοχοι γεγόνασι. σὺ δὲ ἀδιαλείπτως ζυγοστατῶν ἀντιπαρατίθεσο[5] τῇ διαβολικῇ ἐννοίᾳ τὸν εὐσεβῆ λογισμόν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τρυτάνης, τῇ ῥοπῇ τῆς πλάστιγγος τούτῳ παραχωρῶν. καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ἐπαναστᾶσα ἡ πονηρὰ ἔννοια λέγῃ· Τί σοι τὸ ὄφελος τῆς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ διαγωγῆς; τί σοι τὸ κέρδος τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων συνηθείας; ἢ οὐκ ἔγνως τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τεταγμένους ἐπισκόπους τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησιῶν τοῖς ἀνδράσι συνήθως συνδιαζῶντας καὶ τὰς πνευματικὰς ἀδιαλείπτως ἐπιτελοῦντας πανηγύρεις, ἐν αἷς μάλιστά που τοῖς παραγενομένοις γίνεται ὄφελος; ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἀποκαλύψεις παροιμιακῶν αἰνιγμάτων, λύσεις ἀποστολικῶν διδαγμάτων,[6] εὐαγγελικῶν νοημάτων ἔκθεσις,[7] θεολογίας ἀκρόασις, ἀδελφῶν πνευματικῶν συντυχίαι μεγάλην τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐκ τῆς θέας τοῦ προσώπου τὴν ὠφέλειαν παρεχόντων.[8] σὺ δὲ τοσούτων ἀγαθῶν ἀλλότριον σεαυτὸν καταστήσας κάθησαι ἐνθάδε[9] ἐξηγριωμένος ἴσως τοῖς θηρσίν. ὁρᾷς γὰρ[10] ἐνταῦθα ἠρεμίαν πολλήν, ἀπανθρωπίαν οὐκ ὀλίγην, ἀπορίαν διδασκαλίας, ἀδελφῶν ἀλλοτρίωσιν, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα περὶ τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀργίαν ἔχον πολλήν.

[1] ἔθιζε] καρτέρει C.
[2] διάλυσιν C.
[3] τιθέμενος] πειθόμενος C.
[4] δὲ μᾶλλον add. C.
[5] ἀντιπαρατίθει C.
[6] διαταγμάτων C.
[7] ἐκθέσεις C.

to trials. Considering the separation of soul from body as deliverance from every evil, accept only the enjoyment of the blessings which are eternal, the enjoyment which all saints have shared. And incessantly hold the balances, and set as it were on the pair of the scales, over against every thought suggested by the devil, your pious reflection, therewith compensating for the inclination of the scale-beam. Do this especially when the evil thought rises up and says: "What does it profit you to abide in this place? What reward do you receive for retiring from the society of men? Do you not know that those who have been appointed by God as bishops of God's churches habitually live in the company of their fellow-men, and constantly celebrate the spiritual festivals, which no doubt bring great benefit to those who attend them? For at these gatherings the enigmas of the Proverbs are revealed, the teachings of the apostles are explained, the ideas of the gospels are set forth, there are lectures on theology, and conversations with spiritual brethren who by the mere sight of their faces confer great benefit upon those they meet. You, however, have made yourself so a stranger to these many blessings that you sit here reduced perhaps to the level of the wild beasts in savagery. For you see here nothing but a vast solitude, a complete absence of human society, a lack of any instruction, an estrangement from your brethren, where the spirit experiences a great sluggishness to fulfil the commandments of God."

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[8] *συντυχίαι . . . παρεχόντων*] *συντυχία μεγάλην τοῖς συντυγχάνουσιν ἐκ τῆς προσούσης αὐτοῖς τοῦ Πνεύματος χάριτος τὴν ὠφέλειαν παρέχουσα* C.

[9] *ἐνθάδε*] *ἐνταῦθα* C. [10] *γὰρ*] *δὲ* C.

Ὅταν οὖν τοιαύταις καὶ τοσαύταις εὐλογοφανέσι προφάσεσιν ἐπαναστᾶσα ἡ πονηρὰ ἔννοια καταῤῥῆξαί[1] σε θέλῃ, ἀντιπαράθες αὐτῇ διὰ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς λογισμοῦ τὴν πεῖραν τοῦ πράγματος, λέγων· Ἐπειδὴ σὺ λέγεις μοι καλὰ τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἶναι, διὰ τοῦτο ἐγὼ ἐνταῦθα μετῴκησα, ἀνάξιον ἐμαυτὸν κρίνας τῶν τοῦ κόσμου καλῶν. παραμέμικται γὰρ τοῖς τοῦ κόσμου καλοῖς τὰ κακά, καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπεραίρει τὰ κακά.[2] παραγενόμενος γάρ ποτε ἐν ταῖς πνευματικαῖς πανηγύρεσιν ἑνὶ μὲν ἀδελφῷ μόλις ποτὲ περιέτυχον, τὸ μὲν δοκεῖν, φοβουμένῳ τὸν Κύριον, κρατουμένῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου, καὶ ἤκουσα παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγους κομψοὺς καὶ μύθους πεπλασμένους εἰς ἀπάτην τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων.[3] πολλοῖς δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν[4] συνέτυχον κλέπταις, ἅρπαξι, τυράννοις. εἶδον μεθυόντων σχῆμα ἄσχημον, τὰ αἵματα τῶν καταπονουμένων. εἶδον δὲ καὶ κάλλος γυναικῶν, βασάνιζόν μου τὴν σωφροσύνην· καὶ τὸ μὲν τῆς πορνείας ἔργον διέφυγον· τὴν δὲ ἐμαυτοῦ παρθενίαν ἐμόλυνα κατὰ διάνοιαν καρδίας. καὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἀκήκοα λόγων ψυχωφελῶν, πλὴν παρ' οὐδενὶ τῶν διδασκάλων εὗρον ἀξίαν τῶν λόγων τὴν ἀρετήν.[5] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πάλιν μυρίων ἤκουσα τραγῳδημάτων, μέλεσι τεθρυμμένοις ἐνδεδυμένων. πάλιν[6] ἀκήκοα κιθάρας ἡδὺ ἠχούσης, τῶν κρότων τῶν ἀλλομένων,[7] τῆς φωνῆς τῶν γελοιαστῶν, μωρίας πολλῆς καὶ εὐτραπελίας, ὄχλου ἀμυθήτου βοήν. εἶδον τὰ δάκρυα τῶν συληθέντων, τὰς ὀδύνας τῶν ἀπαγομένων ὑπὸ τῆς

[1] καταρρήσσειν C.
[2] καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπεραίρει τὰ κακά om. C.

So when the evil thought rises up and by all such specious pretexts desires to crush you, set over against it through pious reflection your experience of the past. Say: "You tell me that the things of the world are good; but it was for this reason that I moved my abode here—that I judged myself unworthy of the good things of the world. For there are intermingled with the good things of the world evil things also, and the evil preponderates. Indeed, when once I attended the spiritual festivals I found with difficulty one single brother who in appearance at least had fear of the Lord; but in fact he was under the mastery of the devil, and I heard him tell witty stories and tales fabricated for the deception of those whom he met. After meeting him I fell in with many thieves, robbers, and bullies. I saw the shameful sight of drunkards, and the blood of the oppressed. I also beheld the beauty of women, which sorely tried my chastity; and though I escaped the deed of fornication, yet I sullied my purity in the thoughts of my heart. I heard many a discourse edifying to the soul, but in none of my teachers did I find a virtue worthy of their discourses. Next I listened to countless songs, clothed however in wanton music. Again I listened to a sweetly sounding lyre, the clatter of clog-dancers, the voice of buffoons, much folly and ribald wit, and the clamour of an enormous crowd. I witnessed the tears of those who had been despoiled, the anguish of those haled to prison

[3] συντυγχανόντων C. [4] αὐτοῦ C.
[5] τῶν λόγων τὴν ἀρετήν] τὸν λόγον C. [6] πάλιν] ἀπάτην C.
[7] ἁλλομένων] ὀχουμένων C.

τυραννίδος, τὴν οἰμωγὴν τῶν βασανιζομένων. καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδοὺ[1] *οὐκ ἦν πανήγυρις πνευματική, ἀλλὰ θάλασσα ἀνεμιζομένη καὶ ταραττομένη,*[2] *πάντας ὁμοῦ τοῖς αὐτῆς κύμασι καλύψαι σπουδάζουσα.*

Λέγε μοι, ὦ κακὴ ἔννοια, καὶ ὁ τῆς προσκαίρου ἡδυπαθείας τε καὶ κενοδοξίας δαίμων, τί μοι τὸ ὄφελος τῆς τούτων θεωρίας τε καὶ ἀκροάσεως, μηδενὶ τῶν ἀδικουμένων βοηθῆσαι ἰσχύοντι, μήτε δὲ τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις ἐπαμῦναι[3] *μήτε τοὺς σφαλλομένους διορθώσασθαι συγχωρουμένῳ, τάχα δὲ μέλλοντι καὶ ἐμαυτὸν*[4] *προσαπολλύειν; ὥσπερ γὰρ ὀλίγον ὕδωρ καθαρὸν ὑπὸ πολλῆς ζάλης ἀνέμου καὶ κονιορτοῦ ἀφανίζεται, οὕτως ἃ νομίζομεν καλὰ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ποιεῖν*[5] *ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν κακῶν καλύπτεται. αἱ μὲν γὰρ τραγῳδίαι ὥσπερ σκόλοπες τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον δι' εὐθυμίας καὶ χαρᾶς ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν ἐμπήσσονται, ἵνα τῆς ψαλμῳδίας ἐπισκοτίσῃ*[6] *τὸ καθαρόν. αἱ δὲ οἰμωγαὶ καὶ ὁ ὀδυρμὸς τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἀνθρώπων παρὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐπάγονται, ἵνα δειχθῇ τῶν πενήτων ἡ ὑπομονή. τίς οὖν ὠφέλεια ἐμοί,*[7] *ἢ δηλονότι τῆς ψυχῆς ἡ βλάβη;*

Διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἐγὼ μεταναστεύω ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ὡς στρουθίον· ὡς στρουθίον γὰρ ἐῤῥύσθην ἐκ τῆς

[1] *ἰδοὺ* om. C. [2] *καὶ ταραττομένη* om. C.
[3] *τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις ἐπαμῦναι*] *τῶν ἀδικούντων τὴν ὁρμὴν ἀνακόψαι δυναμένῳ* C.
[4] *ἑαυτὸν* C. [5] *ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων* add. C.
[6] *ἐπισκοτήσῃ* C. [7] *ἐμοί* om. C.

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[1] Gregory of Nyssa's letter on Pilgrimages contains a similar picture of the vices of the time as witnessed by him.

by tyranny, and the shrieks of the tortured. I looked and behold! it was no spiritual festival, but a wind-swept and storm-tossed sea, seeking to overwhelm all alike within its billows.[1]

"Tell me, O evil thought, O demon of the moment's gratification and vainglory, of what benefit is it to me to behold and to hear these things, when thereby I gain no strength to aid those who are wronged, and it is granted me neither to help those who are weak nor to raise up the fallen, but perchance I may even bring ruin upon myself as well? For just as a little pool of pure water is blotted out by a strong gust of wind and dust, so the good deeds we are wont to do in life are buried out of sight by the multitude of evil deeds. For the songs are like a palisade of stakes set up by those of the worldly life in their hearts through joy and merriment, that the purity of their singing of psalms may be darkened.[2] And the groans and moanings of the men who are wronged by their fellow-men are introduced to make a show of the patience of the poor. What profit, then, is there in all this for me—or is it manifestly harmful for my soul?

"Therefore I migrate to the mountains like a sparrow; for like a sparrow I have been delivered

in Palestine. Because of the similarity of the pictures and because Basil is known to have visited Palestine (cf. Letter CCXXIII. 2), Maran suggests that Basil is here also describing conditions in the Holy Land.

[2] *i.e.* in moments of gaiety men set up a screen in their hearts with songs for entertainment, thereby casting a shadow over the purity of the kind of song a Christian is wont to sing, *i.e.* psalms.

παγίδος τῶν θηρευόντων. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐρήμῳ διάγω, ὢ κακὴ ἔννοια, ἐν ᾗ ὁ Κύριος διέτριβεν. ἐνταῦθα ἡ δρῦς ἡ Μαμβρή· ἐνταῦθα ἡ οὐρανοφόρος κλῖμαξ, καὶ αἱ τῶν ἀγγέλων παρεμβολαὶ αἱ τῷ Ἰακὼβ ὀφθεῖσαι· ἐνταῦθα ἡ ἔρημος ἐν ᾗ ὁ λαὸς ἁγνισθεὶς ἐνομοθετήθη, καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας εἰσελθὼν εἶδε Θεόν. ἐνταῦθα τὸ ὄρος τὸ Καρμήλιον ἐν ᾧ Ἠλίας αὐλιζόμενος τῷ Θεῷ εὐηρέστησεν. ἐνταῦθα τὸ πεδίον ἐν ᾧ ἀναχωρήσας Ἔσδρας πάσας τὰς θεοπνεύστους βίβλους προστάγματι Θεοῦ ἐξηρεύξατο. ἐνταῦθα ἡ ἔρημος ἐν ᾗ ὁ μακάριος Ἰωάννης ἀκριδοφαγῶν μετάνοιαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκήρυξεν. ἐνταῦθα τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν εἰς ὃ ὁ[1] *Χριστὸς ἀνερχόμενος προσηύχετο, ἡμᾶς διδάσκων προσεύχεσθαι. ἐνταῦθα ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ τῆς ἐρήμου φίλος· φησὶ γάρ· Ὅπου εἰσὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα, ἐκεῖ εἰμὶ ἐν μέσῳ*[2] *αὐτῶν. ἐνταῦθα ἡ στενὴ καὶ τεθλιμμένη ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωήν. ἐνταῦθα διδάσκαλοι καὶ προφῆται οἱ ἐν ἐρημίαις πλανώμενοι, καὶ ὄρεσι, καὶ σπηλαίοις, καὶ ταῖς ὀπαῖς τῆς γῆς. ἐνταῦθα ἀπόστολοι καὶ εὐαγγελισταί, καὶ ὁ τῶν μοναχῶν ἐρημοπολίτης βίος.*

Ταῦτα τοίνυν[3] *ἑκουσίως καταδέδεγμαι, ἵνα λάβω ἅπερ τοῖς μάρτυσι τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ἁγίοις ἐπήγγελται· ἵνα ἀψευδῶς*

[1] *ὁ* om. C. [2] *ἐν μέσῳ*] *μετ'* C.
[3] *τοίνυν*] *οὖν* C.

[1] Cf. Psal. 124, 7: *ἡ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν ὡς στρουθίον ἐῤῥύσθη ἐκ τῆς παγίδος τῶν θηρευόντων· ἡ παγὶς συνετρίβη, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐῤῥύσθημεν.* "Our soul hath been delivered as a sparrow out

out of the snare of the fowlers.[1] For I am living, O evil thought, in the wilderness wherein the Lord dwelt. Here is the oak of Mambre;[2] here is the ladder which leads to heaven, and the encampments of the angels, which Jacob saw; here is the wilderness where the people, purified, received the law, and then going into the land of promise beheld God. Here is Mount Carmel, where Elias abode and pleased God. Here is the plain whither Esdras withdrew, and at God's bidding poured forth from his mouth all his divinely inspired books.[3] Here is the wilderness where the blessed John ate locusts and preached repentance to men. Here is the Mount of Olives, which Christ ascended and there prayed, teaching us how to pray. Here is Christ who loved solitude; for He says, 'Where there are two or three gathered in My name, there am I in the midst of them.'[4] Here is the narrow and strait way that leadeth to life.[5] Here are teachers and prophets, 'wandering in deserts, in mountains, and in dens, and in caves of the earth.'[6] Here are apostles and evangelists and the life of monks, citizens of the desert.

"Now all this have I accepted willingly, that I may obtain what has been promised to Christ's martyrs and all other holy men, and that I may

of the snare of the fowlers. The snare is broken, and we are delivered."

[2] Cf. Gen. 13, 18; 18, 1. [3] Cf. 2 Esdras 2, 14.

[4] Matt. 18, 20.

[5] Cf. Matt. 7, 14: *ὅτι στενὴ ἡ πύλη, καὶ τεθλιμμένη ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωήν, καὶ ὀλίγοι εἰσὶν οἱ εὑρίσκοντες αὐτήν.* "How narrow is the gate, and strait is the way that leadeth to life: and few there are that find it!"

[6] Heb. 11, 38.

λέγω· Διὰ τοὺς λόγους τῶν χειλέων σου ἐγὼ ἐφύλαξα ὁδοὺς σκληράς. ἔγνων γὰρ τὸν μὲν θεοφιλῆ Ἀβραὰμ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ φωνῇ πειθόμενον καὶ εἰς τὴν ἔρημον μετοικοῦντα, καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καταδυναστευόμενον, καὶ Ἰακὼβ τὸν πατριάρχην ξενιτεύοντα, Ἰωσὴφ τὸν σώφρονα διαπιπρασκόμενον, τοὺς τῆς ἐγκρατείας εὑρετὰς τρεῖς παῖδας πυρομαχοῦντας, Δανιὴλ δεύτερον εἰς λάκκον λεόντων παραβαλλόμενον,[1] τὸν παῤῥησιαστὴν Ἱερεμίαν εἰς λάκκον βορβόρου καταδικαζόμενον· Ἡσαΐαν τὸν τῶν ἀποκρύφων θεατὴν πριζόμενον·[2] τὸν Ἰσραὴλ αἰχμαλωτιζόμενον· Ἰωάννην τὸν τῆς μοιχείας ἔλεγχον ἀποτεμνόμενον· ἀναιρουμένους τοὺς[3] Χριστοῦ μάρτυρας. καὶ ἵνα τί μακρολογῶ; ὅπου γε καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐσταυρώθη ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἵνα τῷ ἑαυτοῦ θανάτῳ ἡμᾶς ζωοποιήσῃ, καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὴν ὑπομονὴν ἀλείψῃ καὶ ἑλκύσῃ. πρὸς τοῦτον ἐπείγομαι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. γνήσιος εὑρεθῆναι ἀγωνίζομαι,[4] ἀνάξιον ἐμαυτὸν[5] κρίνας τῶν τοῦ κόσμου καλῶν—πλὴν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐγὼ διὰ τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' ὁ κόσμος δι' ἐμέ.

Ταῦτα οὖν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐπιλογιζόμενος,[6] καὶ τελῶν αὐτὰ[7] σπουδαίως κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον σοι, ἀγώνισαι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας ἕως θανάτου. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς ὑπήκοος γέγονε μέχρι θανάτου. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολός φησι· Βλέπετε μή ποτε ἔσται ἔν τινι ὑμῶν καρδία πονηρά, εἰς τὸ ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ζῶντος· ἀλλὰ ἀλλήλους παρακαλεῖτε,[8]

[1] βαλλόμενον C. [2] Ἡσαΐαν . . . πριζόμενον om. C.
[3] τοῦ C. [4] ἀγωνιζόμενος C. [5] ἑαυτὸν C.
[6] λογιζόμενος C. [7] πάντα C. [8] παρακαλεῖται C.

truthfully say, 'For the sake of the words of thy lips I have kept hard ways.'[1] For I know that Abraham, beloved of God, obeyed His voice and went to dwell in the wilderness; Isaac was oppressed; Jacob the patriarch lived in a strange land; the chaste Joseph was sold; the three children discovered self-control and fought with fire; Daniel was twice thrown into the lions' den; the outspoken Jeremias was condemned to a pit of mire; Isaias beheld secret things and was cut asunder with a saw; Israel was led into captivity; John denounced adultery and lost his head, and Christ's martyrs have been slain. Why do I speak at length, when the Saviour Himself was crucified for our sakes, that by His death He might make us to live, and that He might anoint us all and draw us to endurance? To Him do I hasten, and to the Father, and to the Holy Spirit. I struggle to be found true, having judged myself unworthy of the world's goods, save that I also am not because of the world, but the world because of me."

Considering these things, therefore, in your heart, and fulfilling them with zeal as you have been bidden, struggle for the truth until death. For Christ also became obedient unto death.[2] Nay, the apostle[3] also says: "Take heed lest perhaps there be in any of you an evil heart, to depart from the living God; but exhort one another, and edify one

[1] Psal. 17, 4.
[2] Cf. Phil. 2, 8: *ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτόν, γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ.* "He humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, even to the death of the cross."
[3] Cf. Heb. 3, 12–13; 1 Thess. 5, 11.

καὶ εἰς τὸν ἕνα οἰκοδομεῖτε,[1] *ἄχρις οὗ τὸ σήμερον λέγεται. τὸ γὰρ σήμερον*[2] *σημαίνει ὅλον τὸν χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν. οὕτως οὖν πολιτευόμενος, ἀδελφέ, καὶ σεαυτὸν*[3] *σώσεις, καὶ ἡμᾶς εὐφρανεῖς, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν δοξάσεις εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.*[4]

XLIII

Νουθεσία πρὸς τοὺς νέους

Μάθε σὺ ὁ μονάζων καὶ πιστὸς ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐργάτης, καὶ διδάχθητι εὐαγγελικὴν πολιτείαν, σώματος δουλαγωγίαν, φρόνημα ταπεινόν, ἐννοίας καθαρότητα, ὀργῆς ἀφανισμόν. ἀγγαρευόμενος, προστίθει διὰ τὸν Κύριον· ἀποστερούμενος, μὴ δικάζου· μισούμενος, ἀγάπα· διωκόμενος, ἀνέχου· βλασφημούμενος, παρακάλει. νεκρώθητι τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, σταυρώθητι τῷ Θεῷ· ὅλην τὴν μέριμναν μετάθες ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον, ἵνα εὑρεθῇς ὅπου ἀγγέλων μυριάδες, πρωτοτόκων πανηγύρεις, ἀποστόλων θρόνοι, προφητῶν προεδρίαι, σκῆπτρα πατριαρχῶν, μαρτύρων στέφανοι, δικαίων ἔπαινοι. ἐκείνοις σεαυτὸν τοῖς δικαίοις ἐπιθύμησον συναριθμηθῆναι, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν. αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

[1] *οἰκοδομοῦντες* C.
[2] *λέγεται. τὸ γὰρ σήμερον*] ὃ C.
[3] *ἑαυτὸν* C.
[4] *τέλος θεῷ ἁγίῳ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου* add. C.

[1] Cf. the preceding letter, note 1. This address is rather a sermon than a letter. In fact it does not appear in any of the MSS. of the letters thus far collated. In the old order of the letters (Paris edition, 1618) it is number two, appear-

another, whilst it is called to-day." For "to-day" signifies the whole period of our life. Accordingly if you live thus, brother, you will not only save yourself, but you will also please us, and glorify God from everlasting to everlasting. Amen.

LETTER XLIII

Admonition to the Young [1]

Learn, thou who livest the solitary life and art faithful, and art a worker of piety, and be taught the life of the gospel, which is enslavement of body, humility of mind, purity of thought, and suppression of wrath. When forced into the service,[2] consent for the Lord's sake; when defrauded, appeal not to the law; when hated, love; when persecuted, endure; when blasphemed, deprecate. Be dead to sin, be crucified for God; transfer all your cares to the Lord, that you may be found where are the myriads of angels, the assemblies of the first-born, the thrones of the apostles, the seats of the prophets, the sceptres of the patriarchs, the crowns of the martyrs, and the praises of the just. Seek to be numbered among those righteous men, in Jesus Christ our Lord. To Him be the glory for ever. Amen.

ing between Letter XLII (To Chilo) and Letter XLIV (To a Fallen Monk). It was probably taken over from certain MSS. of the homilies.

[2] Cf. Matt. 5, 41. *καὶ ὅστις σε ἀγγαρεύσει μίλιον ἕν, ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο.* "And whosoever will force thee one mile, go with him other two."

XLIV

Πρὸς μοναχὸν ἐκπεσόντα [1]

Χαίρειν οὐ λέγομεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι χαίρειν τοῖς ἀσεβέσιν. ἔτι γὰρ ἀπιστία με περιέχει, καὶ οὐκ ἐπέρχεταί μου εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τὸ τηλικοῦτον ἀτόπημα καὶ τὸ ἐπιχείρημα τὸ μέγα ὃ ἔπραξας, εἴ γε κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον ἤδη πᾶσιν οὕτως ἔχει. θαυμάζω γὰρ πῶς ἡ τοσαύτη σοφία κατεπόθη, πῶς ἡ τοσαύτη ἀκρίβεια διελύθη, πόθεν ἡ τοσαύτη τύφλωσις περιεχύθη, πῶς μηδὲν τὸ σύνολον ἐννοήσας τοιαύτην καὶ τοσαύτην ἀπώλειαν ψυχῶν εἰργάσω. εἰ γὰρ ἀληθὲς τοῦτο, παραδέδωκας καὶ τὴν σαυτοῦ ψυχὴν τῷ βυθῷ, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀκουόντων τὴν ἀσέβειαν ταύτην τὸν τόνον παρέλυσας. τὴν πίστιν ἠθέτησας,[2] τοῦ ἀγῶνος τοῦ καλοῦ ἠστόχησας. διὸ ἀλγῶ ἐπὶ σοί. ποῖος γὰρ ἱερεὺς ἀκούων οὐ θρηνήσει; ποῖος ἐκκλησιαστικὸς οὐ κόπτεται; ποῖος λαϊκὸς οὐ σκυθρωπάζει; ποῖος ἀσκητὴς οὐ πενθεῖ; τάχα καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἐσκότασεν ἐπὶ τῷ σῷ πτώματι, καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐσαλεύθησαν ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ ἀπωλείᾳ. ἐδάκρυσαν καὶ οἱ ἀναίσθητοι λίθοι ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ μανίᾳ, ἔκλαυσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀνομίας σου.

[1] Addit Regius 1908, sed manu recentiore, Ἀλέξιον. πρὸς διάκονον ἐκπεσόντα Cod. Colbert. 457.

[2] τὴν πίστιν ἠθέτησας om. C, D.

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[1] Cf. Letter XLII, note 1. As in the case of Letter XLII, no ancient MS. of the correspondence contains this work. The family Ac alone recognizes it. Like Letter XLII it

LETTER XLIV

To a Fallen Monk [1]

We say not, "Be it well with thee," inasmuch as it cannot truly be well with those who are impious. For incredulity still holds me, and my mind cannot conceive of so great an iniquity and crime as you have committed, if indeed the truth of the matter is as it by this time appears to all the world. I wonder how such wisdom as yours was swallowed up,[2] how such strictness became slack, how such blindness came to envelop you, how you were so utterly thoughtless as to work all this lamentable destruction of souls. For, if all is true, you have not only given your own soul over to the pit, but you have slackened the zeal of all who hear of this impiety. You have set aside the faith, you have missed the glorious fight. Therefore do I grieve for you. For what priest will not lament when he hears this? What ecclesiastic does not beat his breast? What layman is not downcast? What ascetic does not mourn? Mayhap, even the sun was darkened at your fall, and the stars of heaven tottered at your destruction. Even the unfeeling stones shed tears at your madness, and even your enemies wept because of your exceeding transgression.

seems to have been edited for the first time at Venice in 1535, and inserted regularly in the later editions of St. Basil's correspondence. A very few but important MSS. (some of the Parisini) of the homilies contain the present letter. Yet it is not considered as belonging even to the tradition of the homilies, since it is not regularly reproduced therein, as are Letters XLV and XLVI.

[2] Cf. note 2, p. 269.

Ὦ πολλῆς πωρώσεως, ὦ δεινῆς ὠμότητος. οὐ Θεὸν ἐφοβήθης, οὐκ ἀνθρώπους ᾐδέσθης, οὐ φίλους ἐνετράπης· ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ πάντα ἐναυάγησας, ὁμοῦ πάντα ἐσυλήθης. διὸ πάλιν ἀλγῶ ἐπὶ σοί, ἄθλιε. ὁ τῆς βασιλείας πᾶσι τὸν τόνον ἀπαγγέλλων τῆς βασιλείας ἐξέπεσες. ὁ τῆς διδασκαλίας τὸν φόβον πᾶσιν ἐμποιῶν οὐκ ἔσχες φόβον Θεοῦ ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου. ὁ ἁγιωσύνην κηρύσσων ἐναγὴς εὑρίσκῃ. ὁ ἐπὶ ἀκτημοσύνῃ σεμνυνόμενος συλοχρηματῶν ἐφευρίσκῃ. ὁ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ κόλασιν ἐπιδεικνύμενος διὰ τῆς ὑφηγήσεως αὐτὸς κόλασιν σεαυτῷ προεξένησας. πῶς σε θρηνήσω; πῶς ἀλγήσω ἐπὶ σοί; πῶς ἐξέπεσεν ὁ ἑωσφόρος ὁ πρωῒ ἀνατέλλων καὶ συνετρίβη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; παντὸς ἀκούοντος ἠχήσει τὰ ἀμφότερα ὦτα. πῶς ὁ Ναζιραῖος ὁ ἐκλάμπων ὑπὲρ χρυσίον ἐσκότασεν ὑπὲρ ἀσβόλην; υἱὸς Σιὼν ὁ τίμιος πῶς ἐγένετο σκεῦος ἄχρηστον; οὗ ἡ μνήμη τῶν θείων Γραφῶν ὑπὸ πάντων ἐλαλεῖτο, σήμερον ἀπώλετο τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτοῦ μετ' ἤχου. ὁ ὀξύνους ὀξέως ἀπώλετο. ὁ πολύνους πολύπλοκον ἁμαρτίαν εἰργάσατο. οἱ γὰρ ὠφελημένοι ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς διδασκαλίας ἐβλάβησαν ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς ἀπωλείας. οἱ τὰς ἀκοὰς παρατιθέντες ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ

[1] Cf. Lam. 4, 7 and 8. Ἐκαθαριώθησαν Ναζειραῖοι αὐτῆς ὑπὲρ χιόνα, ἔλαμψαν ὑπὲρ γάλα, ἐπυρώθησαν ὑπὲρ λίθους, σαπφείρου τὸ ἀπόσπασμα αὐτῶν. Ἐσκότασεν ὑπὲρ ἀσβόλην τὸ εἶδος αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἐπεγνώσθησαν ἐν ταῖς ἐξόδοις· ἐπάγη δέρμα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ὀστέα αὐτῶν, ἐξηράνθησαν, ἐγενήθησαν ὥσπερ ξύλον. "Zain. Her Nazarites were whiter than snow, purer than milk, more ruddy than the old ivory, fairer than the sapphire. Heth. Their face is now made blacker than coals, and they are not known in the streets: their skin hath stuck to their

Alas for your hardness of heart, your terrible cruelty! You feared not God, you were not ashamed before men, you paid no heed to your friends; but all alike you shipwrecked, of all alike you deprived yourself. Therefore again do I grieve for you, wretched man! You who proclaim to all your zeal for the kingdom fell from the kingdom. You who instil fear of the doctrine in all men had no fear of God before your eyes. You who preach sanctity are found polluted. You who glory in poverty are caught stealing money. You who through your guidance set forth God's punishment have procured punishment for yourself. How shall I lament for you? How shall I grieve for you? How did the early-rising Lucifer fall and meet destruction upon earth? The two ears of everyone who hears thereof will ring. How did the Nazarite[1] who was brighter than gold become blacker than coals? How did the honoured son of Sion[2] become an unclean vessel? Of him whose memory of the Holy Scriptures was noised about by all, the remembrance has this day perished as soon as the ringing ceases.[3] The man of quick intelligence has quickly perished. The man of a manifold mind has committed a manifold sin. For they who have been aided by your teaching have been injured by your destruction. Those who gave ear to your discourses have stopped

bones, it is withered, and is become like wood." Basil undoubtedly has this portion of the Scriptures in mind here, although he makes very loose use of it.

[2] Cf. Hosea 8, 8. *κατεπόθη Ἰσραήλ, νῦν ἐγένετο ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὡς σκεῦος ἄχρηστον.* "Israel is swallowed up: now is he become among the nations like an unclean vessel."

[3] *i.e.* as soon as the words about the fall of this man cease to ring in our ears, we have forgotten him.

ὁμιλίᾳ ἔφραξαν τὰ ὦτα ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ ἀπωλείᾳ. ἐγὼ δὲ θρηνῶν καὶ σκυθρωπάζων,[1] καὶ παρειμένος πάντοθεν, καὶ σποδὸν ὡσεὶ ἄρτον ἐσθίων, καὶ σάκκον ἐπὶ τῇ πληγῇ μου ἐπιῤῥίψας, τοιαῦτά σοι ἐγκώμια διεξέρχομαι· μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπιταφίους λόγους συντάσσων, ἀπαράκλητος καὶ ἀθεράπευτος διατελῶ· ὅτι παράκλησις κέκρυπται ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι μάλαγμα ἐπιθεῖναι, οὔτε ἔλαιον, οὔτε καταδέσμους· ἔστι γὰρ ἡ πληγή μου ὀδυνηρά. πόθεν ἰαθήσομαι;

Εἴ τις οὖν ἔτι ἐλπὶς ὑπολείπεταί σοι σωτηρίας, εἴ τις βραχεῖα μνήμη περὶ τὸν Θεόν, εἴ τις πόθος τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν, εἴ τις φόβος τῶν τεθησαυρισμένων κολάσεων τοῖς ἀμετανοήτοις, ἀνάνηψον ταχέως, ἔπαρον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σου εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ἐλθὲ εἰς συναίσθησιν, παῦσαι ἀπὸ τῆς πονηρίας σου, ἀπόσεισαι τὴν περιχυθεῖσάν σοι μέθην, ἐπανάστα τῷ καταβαλόντι σε. ἴσχυσον ἐκ γῆς ἐπαναστῆναι. μνήσθητι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ποιμένος, ὅτι καταδιώκων ἐξελεῖταί σε. κἂν ᾖ[2] δύο σκέλη, ἢ λοβὸς ὠτίου, ἀποπήδησον ἀπὸ τοῦ τραυματίσαντός σε. μνήσθητι τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅτι θεραπεύει ἐλαίῳ καὶ οἴνῳ. μὴ ἀπελπίσῃς τὴν σωτηρίαν. ἀνάλαβε τὴν μνήμην τῶν γεγραμμένων, ὅτι ὁ πίπτων ἀνίσταται, καὶ ὁ ἀποστρέφων ἐπιστρέφει· ὁ πεπληγὼς θεραπεύεται, ὁ θηριάλωτος περιγίνεται, ὁ ἐξομο-

[1] καὶ παριστάμενος σκυθρωπὸς add. C, D.
[2] εἰ C, D.

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[1] Cf. Amos 3, 12. τάδε λέγει Κύριος· Ὃν τρόπον ὅταν ἐκσπάσῃ ὁ ποιμὴν ἐκ στόματος τοῦ λέοντος δύο σκέλη ἢ λοβὸν ὠτίου,

their ears at your destruction. As for me, lamenting and downcast, utterly undone, eating ashes for bread, and having cast sackcloth over my wound, I recount your praises in this fashion; or rather, as I compose a funeral address for you, I remain disconsolate and neglected; for consolation has been hidden from my eyes, and I have no salve, no oil, no bandage to apply; for my wound is painful. Wherewith shall I be healed?

Now if any hope of salvation still remains in you, any slight recollection of God, any desire for the good things to come, any fear of the punishments treasured up for the unrepentant, come back to sobriety at once, lift your eyes to heaven, come to your senses, cease your wickedness, shake off the drunkenness that has drenched you, rise up against that which has overthrown you. Have the strength to rise from the ground. Remember the Good Shepherd, that He will follow after you and drive you into safety. Though it be but "two legs, or the tip of the ear,"[1] spring back from him who wounded you. Be mindful of God's compassion, that it heals with oil and wine. Do not despair of salvation. Call to mind what is written, that he that falleth shall rise again, and he that turneth away shall turn again;[2] the wounded is healed, he that is caught by wild beasts escapes, he who con-

οὕτως ἐκσπασθήσονται οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ. "Thus saith the Lord: As if a shepherd should get out of the lion's mouth two legs, or the tip of the ear: so shall the children of Israel be taken out that dwell in Samaria."

[2] Cf. Jer. 8, 4. *ὅτι τάδε λέγει Κύριος· Μὴ ὁ πίπτων οὐκ ἀνίσταται; ἢ ὁ ἀποστρέφων οὐκ ἀναστρέφει;* "Thus saith the Lord: Shall not he that falleth rise again? and he that is turned away, shall he not turn again?"

λογούμενος οὐκ ἀποβάλλεται. οὐ θέλει γὰρ ὁ Κύριος τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ, ὡς τὸ ἐπιστρέψαι καὶ ζῆν αὐτόν. μὴ ὡς εἰς βάθος κακῶν ἐμπεσὼν καταφρονήσῃς.

Καιρὸς ἀνοχῆς ἐστί, καιρὸς μακροθυμίας, καιρὸς ἰάσεως, καιρὸς διορθώσεως. ὠλίσθησας; ἐξεγείρου. ἥμαρτες; ἡσύχασον. μὴ στῇς ἐν ὁδῷ ἁμαρτωλῶν, ἀλλὰ ἀποπήδησον. ὅταν γὰρ ἐπιστραφεὶς στενάξῃς, τότε σωθήσῃ. ἔστι γὰρ ἐκ πόνων ὑγεία, καὶ ἐξ ἱδρώτων σωτηρία. ὅρα οὖν μή ποτε, συνθήκας βουλόμενός τινων φυλάττειν, παραβῇς τὰς πρὸς τὸν[1] *Θεὸν συνθήκας, ἃς ὡμολόγησας ἐπὶ πολλῶν μαρτύρων. μὴ οὖν διά τινας λογισμοὺς ἀνθρωπίνους ὀκνήσῃς ἐλθεῖν πρός με. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀναλαβὼν τὸν νεκρόν μου θρηνήσω, ἐγὼ θεραπεύσω, ἐγὼ πικρῶς κλαύσομαι ἐπὶ τὸ σύντριμμα τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ γένους μου. πάντες σε δέχονται, πάντες σοι συμπονήσουσι. μὴ ἀναπέσῃς· μνήσθητι ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων. ἔστι σωτηρία, ἔστι διόρθωσις. θάρσει, μὴ ἀπελπίσῃς. οὐκ ἔστι νόμος καταδικάζων τὸν χωρὶς οἰκτιρμῶν*

[1] *τὸν* om. C, D.

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[1] Cf. Ez. 18, 32. *διότι οὐ θέλω τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀποθνήσκοντος, λέγει Κύριος· καὶ ἐπιστρέψατε καὶ ζήσατε.* "For I desire not the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord God; return ye and live."

[2] Cf. Prov. 18, 3. *ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἀσεβὴς εἰς βάθος κακῶν, καταφρονεῖ, ἐπέρχεται δὲ αὐτῷ ἀτιμία καὶ ὄνειδος.* "The wicked man, when he is come unto the depth of sins, contemneth: but ignominy and reproach follow him."

[3] Cf. Psal. 1, 1. *μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὃς οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν βουλῇ ἀσεβῶν καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ ἁμαρτωλῶν οὐκ ἔστη, καὶ ἐπὶ καθέδραν λοιμῶν οὐκ ἐκάθισεν.* "Blessed is the man who hath not walked in

fesses is not rejected. For the Lord desireth not the death of the sinner, but that he return and live.[1] Do not, as one who has fallen into the depth of sin, be contemptuous.[2]

There is still time for forbearance, time for long-suffering, time for healing, time for reform. Have you slipped? Rise up. Have you sinned? Cease. Do not stand in the way of sinners,[3] but leap aside. For when you turn back and weep, then you will be saved. For out of labour cometh health, and out of sweat, salvation. Beware, therefore, lest, in your desire to keep agreements with others, you transgress your agreements with God, which you have confessed before many witnesses.[4] Therefore do not for any worldly considerations hesitate to come to me. For I shall take up my dead and weep, I shall care for him, "I will weep bitterly" "for the devastation of the daughter of my people."[5] All are ready to receive you, all will aid you in your troubles. Do not lose heart; remember the days of old. There is salvation, there is reform. Take courage, do not despair. There is no law which condemns to death without compassion, but there is

the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the chair of pestilence."

[4] Cf. 1 Tim. 6, 12. *ἀγωνίζου τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς πίστεως· ἐπιλαβοῦ τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, εἰς ἣν καὶ ἐκλήθης, καὶ ὡμολόγησας τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν ἐνώπιον πολλῶν μαρτύρων.* "Fight the good fight of faith: lay hold on eternal life, whereunto thou art called, and hast confessed a good confession before many witnesses."

[5] Cf. Isa. 22, 4. *διὰ τοῦτο εἶπα, Ἄφετέ με, πικρῶς κλαύσομαι· μὴ κατισχύσητε παρακαλεῖν με ἐπὶ τὸ σύντριμμα τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ γένους μου.* "Therefore have I said: Depart from me, I will weep bitterly: labour not to comfort me for the devastation of the daughter of my people."

θάνατον, ἀλλὰ χάρις ὑπερτιθεμένη τὴν κόλασιν, ἐκδεχομένη τὴν διόρθωσιν. οὔπω ἐκλείσθησαν αἱ θύραι· ἀκούει ὁ νυμφίος· οὐ κυριεύει ἁμαρτία. ἀναπάλαισον πάλιν· μὴ κατοκνήσῃς· καὶ σεαυτὸν οἰκτείρησον καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

XLV

Πρὸς *μονάζοντα ἐκπεσόντα*

Δ*ιττός μοι φόβος ἐνέσκηψε τοῖς τῆς διανοίας κόλποις ἐκ τῆς περὶ σὲ ὑποθέσεως. ἢ γάρ τις ἀσυμπαθὴς τρόπος προκαταρξάμενος εἰς μισανθρωπίας*[1] *ἔγκλημά με ῥίπτει, ἢ αὖθις συμπαθεῖν ἐθέλοντα καὶ πρὸς τὰ πάθη καταμαλακίζεσθαι,*[2] *κακῶς μετατίθησι.*[3] *διόπερ καὶ διαχαράττειν μέλλων τουτί μου τὸ γράμμα, τὴν μὲν χεῖρα ναρκῶσαν τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἐνεύρωσα, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον, ἠπορημένον ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ σοὶ κατηφείας, ἀλλοιῶσαι οὐκ ἴσχυσα, τοσαύτης μοι ἐπὶ σοὶ*

[1] *μισαδελφίας* E.
[2] *καταμαλακίζεσθαι*] *μὴ μαλακίζεσθαι* E.
[3] *διατίθησι* C, D.

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[1] Cf. Letter XLII, note 1. Letters XLV and XLVI may be considered together as regards authenticity, but they can in no way be associated with any of the three preceding. Unlike the preceding letters, they have an almost unanimous tradition in the MSS. of the letters (XLVI is missing in Parisinus 1020 S), and a strong tradition in the MSS. of the

grace which remits the punishment and accepts the reform. Not yet closed are the gates; the bridegroom hears; sin does not prevail. Renew the contest: delay not; and have pity on yourself and on us all in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be the glory and the power, now and for ever, world without end. Amen.

LETTER XLV

To a Fallen Monk[1]

A twofold fear has fallen upon me, reaching to the innermost recesses of my heart, because of you. For either a certain unsympathetic predisposition of mind lays me open to a charge of inhumanity, or else, when I wish to be sympathetic and indulgent with your infirmities, these change me for the worse.[2] Hence, even as I set out to write this letter, though by reasoning I can nerve my benumbed hand, yet my countenance, distressed by the dejection I feel for your sake, I have not the strength to alter, so great is the feeling of shame that overwhelms me

homilies. Letter XLVI was translated into Latin as a homily by Rufinus, which, however, merely indicates the antiquity of its tradition in the MSS. of the homilies, but not any superiority therein over its tradition in the MSS. of the letters. Both letters contain a style and a Biblical colouring similar to that of Basil's homilies, and unlike that of the preceding letters. In fact Letter XLV has many similarities with Homily VI of the Hexaemeron. Accordingly, Letters XLV and XLVI are considered genuine.

[2] *i.e.* these infirmities of yours compel me to assume a hostile attitude.

κεχυμένης[1] αἰσχύνης, ὡς καὶ τὴν τοῦ στόματος[2] σύμπτυξιν παραχρῆμα πίπτειν, τῶν χειλέων μου εἰς κλαυθμὸν ἐκτρεπομένων. οἴμοι, τί γράψω, ἢ τί λογίσομαι ἐν τριόδῳ ἀπειλημμένος;

Ἐὰν ἔλθω εἰς μνήμην τῆς προτέρας σου ματαίας[3] ἀναστροφῆς, ὅτε σε[4] περιέῤῥει πλοῦτος καὶ τὸ χαμερπὲς[5] δοξάριον, φρίττω· ἡνίκα εἵπετό σοι κολάκων πλῆθος[6] καὶ τρυφῆς ἀπόλαυσις πρόσκαιρος μετὰ προφανοῦς κινδύνου καὶ ἀδίκων πόρων· καὶ πῆ μὲν ἀρχοντικοὶ φόβοι διεῤῥίπιζόν σου τὴν τῆς[7] σωτηρίας ὑπόνοιαν, πῆ δὲ δημοσίων θόρυβοι διεσάλευόν σου τὴν ἑστίαν, ἥ τε συνοχὴ τῶν κακῶν ἀπεσφαίριζέ σου τὸν νοῦν πρὸς τὸν δυνάμενόν σοι βοηθεῖν· ἡνίκα κατὰ μικρὸν ἐμελέτας περιβλέπεσθαι[8] τὸν Σωτῆρα, φέροντα μὲν πρὸς ὠφέλειαν τοὺς φόβους, ῥυόμενον δέ σε καὶ σκέποντα, παίζοντα κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἀδείαις· ἡνίκα ἐγυμνάζου πρὸς μεταβολὴν σεμνοῦ τρόπου, σκυβαλίζων μέν σου τὴν πολυκίνδυνον περιουσίαν οἴκου τε θεραπείαν καὶ συνοίκου ὁμιλίαν ἀπαρνούμενος. ὅλος δὲ μετάρσιος, ὥσπερ ξένος καὶ ἀλήτης, ἀγροὺς καὶ πόλεις ἐξαμείβων, κατέδραμες ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, ἔνθα σοι καὶ αὐτὸς συνδιατρίβων ἐμακάριζον τῶν ἀθλητικῶν πόνων,[9] ὅτε ἑβδοματικοῖς κύκλοις νῆστις διατελῶν Θεῷ προσεφιλοσόφεις, ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων συντυχίας λόγῳ τροπῆς ὑποφεύγων, ἡσυχίαν δὲ καὶ μονοτροπίαν ἑαυτῷ ἐφαρμόσας, τοὺς πολι-

[1] ἐπὶ σοὶ κεχυμένης] ἐπικεχυμένης B, C, D.
[2] στόματος] σώματος E.
[3] ματαίας σου προτέρας E.
[4] σοι C, D.
[5] χαμαιρρεπὲς B.
[6] πλήθη A, D.
[7] τῆς] πρὸς B.

on your account—so great, indeed, that the portals of my mouth straightway fall apart, and my lips are turned to sobbing. Alas! What shall I write? How shall I reason out my course, halted as I am at a meeting of three ways?

If I call to mind your past life of vanity, when wealth flowed in streams about you, and the paltry glory of groundlings, I tremble. In those days you were followed by a crowd of flatterers, and by a temporary enjoyment of luxury attended by manifest danger and unjust gains; at one time fears of magistrates dispelled your thoughts of salvation; at another, upheavals in public affairs disturbed your hearth, and a succession of misfortunes caused your mind to rebound toward Him who has the power to help you. Then little by little you meditated how you might see the Saviour, who brings fears for your good, but yet rescues you and protects you, though in your moments of security you mock Him. Then you began to train yourself for the adoption of the pious life, rejecting with disgust your perilous affluence, and denying yourself the comfort of a home and the society of a wife. Then, wholly lifted up, passing like a stranger and wanderer from farm to farm and from city to city, you made your way to Jerusalem. Here I myself lived and rejoiced with you for your ascetic labours, when unremittingly you fasted on alternate weeks and speculated about God, at the same time shunning the society of men on the pretext that you desired a change, though in fact, by avoiding the turmoils of civil life, you procured for yourself quiet and soli-

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[8] σοι add. E, F. [9] τὸν ἀθλητικὸν πόνον E.

τικοὺς θορύβους ἐξέκλινας.[1] *σάκκῳ δὲ τραχεῖ*[2] *τὸ σῶμά σου*[3] *διανύττων, καὶ ζώνῃ σκληρᾷ τὴν ὀσφύν σου περισφίγγων, καρτερικῶς τὰ ὀστᾶ σου διέθλιβες. λαγόνας δὲ ταῖς ἐνδείαις κοιλαίνων μέχρι τῶν νωτιαίων μερῶν ὑπεχαύνωσας· καὶ φασκίας μὲν ἁπαλῆς τὴν χρῆσιν ἀπηρνήσω, ἔνδοθεν δὲ τὰς λαπάρας, σικύας δίκην, ὑφελκύσας*[4] *τοῖς νεφριτικοῖς χωρίοις προσκολλᾶσθαι*[5] *ἐβιάζου· ὅλην δὲ τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς πιμελὴν ἐκκενώσας, τοὺς τῶν ὑπογαστρίων ὀχετοὺς γενναίως ἐξήρανας, γαστέρα τε αὐτὴν ταῖς ἀσιτίαις συμπτύξας, τὰ πλευριτικὰ μέρη, ὥσπερ τινὰ στέγης ἐξοχήν, τοῖς τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ μέλεσιν*[6] *ἐπεσκίαζες, καὶ συνεσταλμένῳ ὅλῳ τῷ ὀργάνῳ, κατὰ τὰς νυκτερινὰς ὥρας ἀνθομολογούμενος τῷ Θεῷ, τοῖς τῶν δακρύων ὀχετοῖς τὴν γενειάδα ἔμβροχον καθωμάλιζες. καὶ τί με δεῖ καταλέγειν ἕκαστα ; μνήσθητι ὅσα ἁγίων στόματα φιλήματι κατησπάσω, ὅσα ἱερὰ σώματα περιεπτύξω, ὅσοι σου τὰς χεῖρας ὡς ἀχράντους περιέθαλπον, ὅσοι δοῦλοι Θεοῦ, ὥσπερ λάτρεις, ὑπέδραμον τοῖς γόνασί σου περιπλεκόμενοι.*

Καὶ *τούτων τὸ τέλος τί ; μοιχικῆς φήμης διαβολή, βέλους ὀξύτερον διιπταμένη, τιτρώσκει ἡμῶν τὰς ἀκοάς, ἀκμαιοτέρῳ κέντρῳ τὰ σπλάγχνα ἡμῶν διανύττουσα. τίς ἡ τοῦ γόητος*[7] *τοσαύτη ἔντεχνος ποικιλία εἰς τοσοῦτόν*[8] *σε περιήγαγεν ὀλέθριον σκέλισμα ; ποῖα πολύπλοκα τοῦ διαβόλου δίκτυα περισφίγξαντά σε, τὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐνεργείας ἀκινήτους ἀπήλεγξε ;*[9] *ποῦ μοι τὰ*

[1] *ἐξέκλινες* A, B, F. [2] *τραχεία* A, B.
[3] *σου* om. A, B, C, D. [4] *ἐφελκύσας* E.

tude. Irritating your body with rough sackcloth, and binding tightly about your loins a hard girdle, with steadfast endurance you afflicted your bones. You made your sides hollow by your deprivations, so that they hung flabby even round to the back; and you declined the use of a soft waist-band,[1] but drawing your flanks in tightly, like a gourd, you forced them tight against the region of the kidneys. You rid your flesh of all its fat, nobly drained the channels of your abdomen dry, and by compressing your stomach itself with fastings, you caused your outstanding ribs, like the eaves of a house, to cast a shadow about the region of your navel. Thus, with your whole body contracted, you spent the hours of night making your confessions to God, and with the streams of your tears smoothed out the curls of your drenched beard. Why need I go into details? Remember all the saints whose lips you greeted with a kiss, all the holy persons that you embraced, all the people who fervently clasped your hands as undefiled, all the servants of God who, like hirelings, ran up and clung to your knees.

And what is the end of all this? An evil rumour of adultery, flying swifter than an arrow, wounds our ears, aye, with a sharper sting pierces our vitals. What sorcerer's art was so subtle as to drive you into so deadly a snare? What tortuous meshes of the devil got their coils about you, and exposed the true character of that unswerving practice of virtue of yours? What, pray, has become of my stories of

[1] φασκία, Latin *fascia*, a band swathed about breast or waist.

[5] κολλᾶσθαι A, F, προς in ras. [6] μέρεσιν A, C, F.
[7] τοῦ γόητος om. E. [8] τοῦτο C, D. [9] ἀπήλεγξαν C, D.

διηγήματα τῶν σῶν πόνων; οἴχεται. ἆρα γὰρ ἀπιστῆσαι ἄξιον; καὶ πῶς οὐχὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐναργῶν καὶ τὰ τέως ἀφανῆ εἰς πίστιν δεξόμεθα; εἰ τὰς τῷ Θεῷ προσφυγούσας[1] ψυχὰς φρικτοῖς ὅρκοις κατέκλεισας· ὁπότε παρατετηρημένως[2] τοῦ ναὶ καὶ τοῦ οὒ τὸ περιττὸν[3] τῷ διαβόλῳ προσνενέμηται.[4]

Ὁμοῦ τοίνυν καὶ παρορκίας ὀλεθρίου γέγονᾱς ἔγγυος, καὶ φαυλίσας τῆς ἀσκήσεως τὸν χαρακτῆρα μέχρι τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀνέπεμψας τὸ αἶσχος. κατῄσχυνας τὸ τῆς ἁγνείας καύχημα, ἐμωμήσω τῆς σωφροσύνης τὸ ἐπάγγελμα· ἐγενόμεθα αἰχμαλώτων τραγῳδία, Ἰουδαίοις καὶ Ἕλλησι δραματουργεῖται τὰ ἡμέτερα. διέτεμες φρόνημα μοναχῶν· τοὺς ἀκριβεστέρους εἰς φόβον καὶ δειλίαν ἤγαγες, θαυμάζοντας ἔτι τοῦ διαβόλου τὴν δύναμιν, τοὺς ἀδιαφόρους εἰς ἀκολασίας ζῆλον μετέθηκας. ἔλυσας, ὅσον ἐπὶ σοί, τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καύχημα, Θαῤῥεῖτε, λέγοντος, ἐγὼ νενίκηκα τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὸν τούτου[5] ἄρχοντα, ἐκέρασας τῇ πατρίδι κρατῆρα δυσφημίας. ὄντως εἰς ἔργον ἤγαγες τὸ

[1] προσφευγούσας F. [2] παρατετηρημένος C, D.
[3] περισσὸν δὲ C, D, E.
[4] προσνέμων C, D, F; προσνέμειν A.
[5] τούτου] τοῦ κόσμου F.

your labours? They are gone. For must we not disbelieve them? And how can we help giving credence, on the strength of things now manifest, to things which have hitherto been unseen—nay, though you have bound by frightful oaths souls which have sought refuge with God, inasmuch as whatever is above yea and nay is scrupulously attributed to the devil?[1]

You have therefore at once become liable for a deadly perjury, and by casting disparagement upon the character of asceticism you have carried your disgrace back even to the Apostles and the Lord Himself. You have put our boast of purity to shame, you have mocked the vow of chastity; we have become a tragedy of captives, and our lives are placed on the stage for Jews and Greeks.[2] You have cut the pride of all monks asunder; those of strictest discipline you have driven into fear and cowardice, since they marvel still at the devil's power, while the indifferent you have converted to rivalry in incontinence. In so far as in you lay, you have nullified Christ's boast, when He says, "Have confidence, I have overcome the world"[3]—that is, the ruler of this world. You have mixed a cup of infamy for your country. You have truly fulfilled the

[1] Cf. Matt. 5, 37. *ἔστω δὲ ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν, ναὶ ναί, οὒ οὔ· τὸ δὲ περισσὸν τούτων ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ἐστίν.* "But let your speech be yea, yea: no, no: and that which is over and above these is of evil."

[2] *i.e.* we monks have become a show, in which we play the rôle of captives, our wretchedness held up for the amusement and ridicule of Jews and Pagans. Basil uses the term "Greeks" for the adherents of the old pagan religion.

[3] John 16, 33.

τῆς[1] Παροιμίας· Ὡς ἔλαφος τοξευθεὶς εἰς[2] τὸ ἧπαρ.

Ἀλλὰ τί νῦν; οὐ πέπτωκεν ὁ τῆς ἰσχύος πύργος, ἀδελφέ, οὐκ ἐμωμήθη τὰ τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς φάρμακα· οὐκ ἀπεκλείσθη τοῦ καταφευκτηρίου ἡ πόλις. μὴ τῷ βάθει τῶν κακῶν ἐναπομείνῃς. μὴ χρήσῃς σεαυτὸν τῷ ἀνθρωποκτόνῳ. οἶδεν ἀνορθοῦν κατεῤῥαγμένους ὁ Κύριος. φεῦγε[3] μὴ μακράν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀνάδραμε. ἀνάλαβε πάλιν νεανικοὺς πόνους, δευτέροις κατορθώμασι διαλύων τὴν χαμαίζηλον καὶ γλοιώδη[4] ἡδονήν. ἀνάνευσον εἰς τὴν τοῦ τέλους ἡμέραν, οὕτω προσεγγίσασαν τῇ ζωῇ ἡμῶν· καὶ γνῶθι πῶς λοιπὸν Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων παῖδες συνελαύνονται πρὸς θεοσέβειαν· καὶ μὴ ἀπαξαπλῶς ἀπαρνήσῃ[5] τὸν τοῦ κόσμου Σωτῆρα, μή σε ἡ φρικωδεστάτη ἐκείνη καταλάβῃ ἀπόφασις, ὅτι Οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς, τίνες ἐστέ.

XLVI

Πρὸς παρθένον ἐκπεσοῦσαν

Νῦν καιρὸς ἐκβοῆσαι τὸ προφητικὸν ἐκεῖνο, καὶ εἰπεῖν· Τίς δώσει τῇ κεφαλῇ μου ὕδωρ, καὶ

[1] τὸ τῆς] τὰς A, E, F. [2] εἰς om. C, D.
[3] φύγε E, F.
[4] γλυώδη A, E, F (in marg. γελοιώδη); γελοιώδη C.
[5] ἀρνήσῃ E.

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[1] Cf. Prov. 7, 22–23. ὁ δὲ ἐπηκολούθησεν αὐτῇ κεπφωθείς, ὥσπερ δὲ βοῦς ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἄγεται, καὶ ὥσπερ κύων ἐπὶ δεσμούς, ἢ

words of the Proverb: "Like a stag pierced to the liver." [1]

But what now? The tower of our strength has not fallen, brother; the remedies of amendment have not been mocked; the city of refuge has not been closed. Do not abide in the depths of iniquity; do not give yourself over to the slayer of men. The Lord knows how to raise up those who have been dashed down. Flee to no distant place, but hasten back to us. Take up the labours of youth again, and by succeeding in a second trial end that indulgence, which wallows in sticky mire. Look up toward the last day, that has approached so near our lives; realise how the children of Jews and Greeks are now driven to the worship of God; and do not, once for all, deny the Saviour of the world, lest that most terrible sentence be passed upon you: "I know you not, who you are." [2]

LETTER XLVI

To a Fallen Virgin [3]

Now is the time to quote the words of the prophet, and say: "Who will give water to my

ὡς ἔλαφος τοξεύματι πεπληγὼς εἰς τὸ ἧπαρ. The Douay Version, which is clearly based on a different version of the Greek, reads: "Immediately he followeth her as an ox led to be a victim, and as a lamb playing the wanton, and not knowing that he is drawn and like a fool to bonds, till the arrow pierce his liver."

[2] Luke 13, 27.

[3] Cf. Letter XLV, note 1.

τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μου πηγὴν δακρύων, καὶ κλαύσομαι τοὺς τετραυματισμένους[1] θυγατρὸς λαοῦ μου; εἰ γὰρ καὶ τούτους βαθεῖα περιέχει σιγή, καὶ κεῖνται ἅπαξ κεκαρωμένοι τῷ δεινῷ καὶ τῷ καιρίῳ τῆς πληγῆς ἀφῃρημένοι καὶ αὐτὴν ἤδη τοῦ πάθους τὴν αἴσθησιν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡμᾶς γε παριέναι ἀδακρυτὶ τοσοῦτον[2] πτῶμα χρή. εἰ γὰρ Ἱερεμίας τοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ τὰ σώματα[3] πεπληγότας μυρίων θρήνων ἀξίους ἔκρινε, τί ἄν τις εἴποι πρὸς τηλικαύτην ψυχῶν[4] συμφοράν; Οἱ τραυματίαι σου, φησίν, οὐ τραυματίαι ῥομφαίας, καὶ οἱ νεκροί σου οὐ νεκροὶ πολέμου. ἀλλὰ τὸ κέντρον τοῦ ὄντως θανάτου, τὴν χαλεπὴν ἁμαρτίαν ὀδύρομαι, καὶ τὰ πεπυρωμένα τοῦ πονηροῦ βέλη, ψυχὰς ὁμοῦ μετὰ σωμάτων βαρβαρικῶς καταφλέξαντα.

Ἦ μεγάλα ἂν[5] στενάξειαν οἱ τοῦ Θεοῦ νόμοι, τηλικοῦτον ἄγος ἐπὶ γῆς ἐπιβλέποντες,[6] οἵ γε[7] ἀπαγορεύοντες ἀεὶ καὶ βοῶντες, πάλαι μέν· Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον σου, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἁγίων εὐαγγελίων ὅτι· Πᾶς ὁ ἐμβλέπων[8] γυναικὶ[9] πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτῆς,[10] ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ. νῦν δὲ ἐφορῶσιν αὐτὴν ἀδεῶς μοιχευομένην τοῦ Δεσπότου τὴν νύμφην, ἧς ἡ κεφαλὴ ὁ Χριστός.[11] στενάξειε[12] δ' ἂν καὶ αὐτὰ τῶν ἁγίων τὰ πνεύματα·[13] Φινεὲς

[1] τοὺς τετραυματισμένους] τὸ σύντριμμα E.
[2] τοσοῦτον] τηλικοῦτον E; τοιοῦτον C, D.
[3] τὸ σῶμα E.
[4] ψυχῆς B, D.
[5] ἂν] γ' ἂν E.
[6] βλέποντες A, C, D, E.
[7] οἵ γε] οἳ καὶ E.
[8] ἐμβλέψας E; βλέπων A.
[9] γυναῖκα A, C, D.
[10] αὐτὴν A, C, D, E.
[11] ἧς . . . ὁ Χριστός om. C, D, E.

head, and a fountain of tears to my eyes, and I will weep for the slain of the daughter of my people?"[1] Although, he means, these are enwrapped in deep silence, and lie stunned once for all by the dreadful event, and are now bereft by the fatal blow even of all perception of their fate, yet we at all events must not pass over such a fall without a tear. For if Jeremias considered those worthy of countless lamentations who received bodily wounds in battle, what can one say when face to face with a disaster like this to a soul? It is said: "Thy wounded are not wounded by the sword, thy dead are not dead in battle."[2] Nay, it is the sting of what is truly death —the grievous sin—which I mourn, the flaming darts of the Evil One, which have ruthlessly consumed souls and bodies alike.

Surely the laws of God would loudly groan, if they could see such pollution on earth, those laws[3] which have ever proclaimed the prohibition, in olden times: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife," and through the holy gospels:[4] "Whosoever shall look on a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart." Now these laws behold the Lord's bride, whose head is Christ, freely giving herself in adultery. Aye, the very souls of the saints would groan: Phinehas the zealous,

[1] Jer. 9. 1. Basil, however, omits the words "day and night" after "weep."

[2] Cf. Isa. 22. 2. *ἐνεπλήσθη ἡ πόλις βοώντων, οἱ τραυματίαι σου οὐ τραυματίαι ἐν μαχαίραις, οὐδὲ οἱ νεκροί σου νεκροὶ πολέμῳ.* "Full of clamour, a populous city, a joyous city: thy slain are not slain by the sword, nor dead in battle."

[3] Deut. 5. 21. [4] Matt. 5. 28.

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[12] *στενάξειαν* C, D, E. [13] *πνεύματα*] *τάγματα* C, D.

μὲν ὁ ζηλωτής, ὅτι μὴ καὶ νῦν ἔξεστιν αὐτῷ τὸν σειρομάστην μετὰ χεῖρας λαβόντι, σωματικῶς ἐκδικῆσαι τὸ μύσος·[1] ὁ δὲ βαπτιστὴς Ἰωάννης, ὅτι μὴ δύναται καταλιπὼν τὰς ἄνω διατριβάς, καθάπερ τότε τὴν ἔρημον, ἐπὶ τὸν ἔλεγχον τῆς παρανομίας δραμεῖν, καὶ εἰ παθεῖν τι δέοι τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποθέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν παῤῥησίαν· τάχα δὲ μᾶλλον,[2] εἴπερ καὶ ἡμῖν, κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Ἄβελ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθανὼν ἔτι λαλεῖ, καὶ νῦν βοᾷ καὶ κέκραγε μεῖζον ὁ Ἰωάννης[3] ἢ περὶ τῆς Ἡρωδιάδος τότε· Οὐκ ἔξεστί σοι ἔχειν αὐτήν. καὶ γάρ, εἰ τὸ[4] σῶμα Ἰωάννου, κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον τῇ φύσει, τὸν θεῖον ὅρον ἐδέξατο καὶ[5] ἡ γλῶσσα[6] σιγᾷ, ἀλλ' Ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐ δέδεται. ὁ γάρ, ἐπειδὴ συνδούλου γάμος ἠθετεῖτο, μέχρι θανάτου τὴν παῤῥησίαν προαγαγών, τί ἂν πάθοι τηλικαύτην ἐφορῶν ὕβριν περὶ τὸν ἅγιον τοῦ Κυρίου νυμφῶνα;

Ἀλλὰ σὺ τῆς θείας ἐκείνης συναφείας[7] τὸν ζυγὸν ἀποῤῥίψασα,[8] καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄχραντον τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ βασιλέως ἀποδρᾶσα νυμφῶνα, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἄτιμον ταύτην καὶ ἀσεβῆ φθορὰν αἰσχρῶς πεσοῦσα, ἐπεὶ[9] οὐκ ἔχεις πῶς τὴν πικρὰν ταύτην κατηγορίαν ἐκφύγῃς,[10] οὐδέ τίς ἐστί[11] σοι τρόπος οὐδὲ[12] μηχανὴ τὸ δεινὸν τοῦτο συγ-

1 μίσος C.
2 τάχα δὲ μᾶλλον] μᾶλλον δὲ A, B, C, D.
3 ὁ Ἰωάννης om. A, B, C, D.
4 καὶ γάρ, εἰ τὸ] τὸ μὲν γάρ C, D.
5 καὶ] κἂν C, D.
6 δὲ add. C, D.
7 συναφείας] κοινωνίας A, B, C, D.
8 ἀπορρήξασα C, D.
9 ἐπειδὴ E.
10 ἀποφύγῃς E.

that he cannot in this case also take his spear in hand, and with bodily punishment avenge the outrage; and John the Baptist, that he cannot leave his heavenly abode, as once he left the wilderness, and hasten to rebuke the transgression, and, if he needs must suffer, to lose his head rather than his freedom of speech; or rather, perhaps, if John, like the blessed Abel,[1] still continues to speak to us even in death, he may even now be crying out and shouting with louder voice than he once did concerning Herodias: "It is not lawful for thee to have her;"[2] and if John's body, according to the law of nature, has accepted the divine limitation, and his tongue is silent, yet "the word of God is not bound."[3] If, when the marriage of a fellow-servant was set at naught, John pushed his frankness of speech even to the point of causing his own death, how would he feel could he see such an outrage as this, which affects the holy marriage-chamber of the Lord?

But you have thrown aside the yoke of that divine union; you have fled from the unsullied chamber of the true king, and have fallen shamefully into this dishonourable and impious seduction; and now that you can in no way escape this bitter accusation, and have no way or means to conceal

[1] Cf. Heb. 11. 4. *πίστει πλείονα θυσίαν Ἄβελ παρὰ Καῒν προσήνεγκε τῷ Θεῷ δι' ἧς ἐμαρτυρήθη εἶναι δίκαιος, μαρτυροῦντος ἐπὶ τοῖς δώροις αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ἀποθανὼν ἔτι λαλεῖται.* "By faith Abel offered to God a sacrifice exceeding that of Cain, by which he obtained a testimony that he was just, God giving testimony to his gifts, and by it he being dead yet speaketh."

[2] Matt. 14. 4. [3] 2 Tim. 2. 9.

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[11] *ἐστί* om. E. [12] *τρόπος οὐδὲ* om. E.

καλύψαι, ὁμόσε τῇ τόλμῃ χωρεῖς. καὶ ἐπειδήπερ ἀσεβής, ἐμπεσὼν εἰς βάθος κακῶν, λοιπὸν καταφρονεῖ, αὐτὰς ἀπαρνῇ τὰς πρὸς τὸν ἀληθινὸν νυμφίον συνθήκας, οὔτε εἶναι παρθένος, οὔτε ὑποσχέσθαι ποτὲ βοῶσα, ἣ πολλὰ μὲν ἐδέξω, πολλὰ δὲ ἐπεδείξω παρθενίας συνθήματα.

Μνήσθητι τῆς καλῆς ὁμολογίας, ἣν ὡμολόγησας ἐνώπιον Θεοῦ καὶ ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀνθρώπων. μνήσθητι τῆς σεμνῆς συνοδίας, καὶ ἱεροῦ παρθένων χοροῦ, καὶ συναγωγῆς Κυρίου, καὶ Ἐκκλησίας ὁσίων· καὶ γηραλέας ἐν Χριστῷ μάμμης νεαζούσης ἔτι[1] καὶ ἀκμαζούσης τὴν ἀρετήν, καὶ μητρὸς ἐν Κυρίῳ πρὸς ἐκείνην ἁμιλλωμένης, καὶ ξένοις τισὶ καὶ ἀήθεσι πόνοις καταλύειν φιλονεικούσης τὰ τῆς συνηθείας·[2] καὶ ἀδελφῆς ὁμοίως τὰ μὲν ἐκείνας[3] μιμουμένης, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπερβαίνειν φιλοτιμουμένης, καὶ τοῖς παρθενικοῖς πλεονεκτήμασιν ὑπερακοντιζούσης τὰ προγονικὰ κατορθώματα, καί σε τὴν ἀδελφήν, ὡς ᾤετο, πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἴσων ἅμιλλαν καὶ λόγῳ καὶ βίῳ φιλοπόνως[4] ἐκκαλουμένης. μνήσθητι τούτων, καὶ ἀγγελικῆς περὶ τὸν Θεὸν μετ᾽ ἐκείνων χορείας, καὶ πνευματικῆς ἐν σαρκὶ ζωῆς, καὶ οὐρανίου ἐπὶ γῆς πολιτεύματος· μνήσθητι ἡμερῶν ἀθορύβων, καὶ νυκτῶν πεφωτισμένων, καὶ ᾠδῶν[5] πνευματικῶν, καὶ ψαλμῳδίας εὐήχου, καὶ προσευχῶν ἁγίων, καὶ ἁγνῆς καὶ ἀμιάντου[6] κοίτης, καὶ παρθενικῆς προόδου, καὶ ἐγκρατοῦς τραπέζης, καὶ

[1] ἔτι] ἄρτι ἢ τότε A, B, C, D.
[2] τὸ κράτος add. A, B, C, D.
[3] ἐκείνης A, B, C, D.
[4] φιλοτίμως E.
[5] ᾠδῶν A, C, D, E; ὁδῶν B et editi.

this horror, you rush headlong into insolence. And inasmuch as a sinner, on falling into the depth of iniquity, becomes thenceforth contemptuous, you even deny your covenant with the true spouse, and cry aloud that you neither are nor ever promised to be a virgin, although you have accepted many pledges of virginity and have offered many.

Recall that "good confession" which you confessed in the sight of God and angels and men.[1] Remember the solemn assembly, the sacred chorus of virgins, the congregation of the Lord, and the Church of saints. Think of your grandmother, old in Christ, but still young and strong in virtue; of your mother vying with her in the Lord, and struggling by strange and unwonted toils to break with her accustomed life; and of your sister, who likewise imitates them both, and yet strives earnestly to surpass them, and indeed by the advantage of her virginity surpasses the successes of her forbears; she by both word and life earnestly summons you, her sister (as she used to think), to a rivalry of like effort. Remember these; remember the chorus of angels, with the saints, about God; remember the spiritual life in the flesh, and the heavenly life on earth; remember the days of calm, the nights of enlightenment, the spiritual songs, the tuneful psalms, the holy prayers, the pure and untarnished bed, the procession of virgins, the temperate

[1] Cf. 1 Tim. 6. 12. *ἀγωνίζου τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς πίστεως· ἐπιλαβοῦ τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, εἰς ἣν καὶ ἐκλήθης, καὶ ὡμολόγησας τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν ἐνώπιον πολλῶν μαρτύρων.* "Fight the good fight of faith: lay hold on eternal life, whereunto thou art called, and hast confessed a good confession before many witnesses."

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[6] *καὶ ἀμιάντου* om. A, B, C, D.

καλῶς εὐχομένης τὴν παρθενίαν σοι ἄφθορον τηρηθῆναι.[1]

Ποῦ δέ σοι τὸ σεμνὸν ἐκεῖνο σχῆμα, ποῦ δὲ τὸ κόσμιον ἦθος, καὶ ἐσθὴς λιτὴ παρθένῳ πρέπουσα, καὶ καλὸν μὲν τὸ ἐξ αἰδοῦς ἐρύθημα, εὐπρεπὴς δὲ ἡ ἐξ ἐγκρατείας καὶ ἀγρυπνίας ἐπανθοῦσα ὠχρότης, καὶ πάσης εὐχροίας χαριέστερον ἐπιλάμπουσα; ποσάκις ἐν προσευχαῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τηρῆσαι τὴν παρθενίαν ἄσπιλον ἴσως ἐξέχεας δάκρυα; πόσα δὲ[2] *γράμματα πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους*[3] *ἐχάραξας, δι' ὧν ἠξίους ὑπερεύχεσθαί σου, οὐχ ἵνα γάμου ἀνθρωπίνου, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς ἀτίμου ταύτης*[4] *φθορᾶς, ἐπιτύχῃς, ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ μὴ ἐκπέσῃς; ποσάκις*[5] *δὲ δῶρα τοῦ νυμφίου ἐδέξω; τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν τὰς δι' ἐκεῖνον παρὰ τῶν ἐκείνου τιμάς; τὰς μετὰ παρθένων συμβιώσεις; τὰς σὺν ἐκείναις προόδους; τὰς παρὰ παρθένων δεξιώσεις; τὰ ἐπὶ παρθενίᾳ ἐγκώμια; τὰς παρθενικὰς εὐλογίας; τὰ ὡς πρὸς παρθένον γράμματα; ἀλλὰ νῦν ὀλίγην αὔραν δεξαμένη τοῦ ἀερίου*[6] *πνεύματος, τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας, πάντων ἐκείνων ἔξαρνος γέγονας, καὶ τὸ τίμιον ἐκεῖνο καὶ περιμάχητον κτῆμα βραχείας ἡδονῆς ἀντικατηλλάξω, ἣ πρὸς καιρὸν μὲν*[7] *λιπαίνει*

[1] *καὶ καλῶς . . . τηρηθῆναι* om. A, B, C, D.
[2] *πόσα δὲ*] *ποσάκις* E.
[3] *πολλάκις* add. A, B, C, D.
[4] *ταύτης* om. B.
[5] *πόσα* A, B, C, D.
[6] *ἀερίου*] *ἀέρος τοῦ* C, D.
[7] *μὲν* om. A, B, C, D.

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[1] The benedictions pronounced by the priests upon nuns.

board, and yourself offering the good prayer that your virginity be kept uncorrupted.

What has become of that dignified bearing of yours, that decorous character, that simple dress befitting a virgin, that beautiful blush of modesty, and that comely pallor, which blooms through temperance and vigils and has a radiance more charming than any ruddiness of complexion? How often, when you prayed that you might preserve your virginity spotless, did you perhaps shed tears? How often did you write to the holy men, asking that prayers be offered by them on your behalf, not that you might obtain marriage among men—or rather, that dishonourable corruption—but that you might never fall away from the Lord Jesus? How often have you received gifts from your bridegroom? Why need I even speak of the honours which you received through Him from His ministers? Or of the life you lived among the virgins? Of the processions you made with them? Of the greetings you received from the virgins? Of the words of commendation for your virginity? Of the virginal blessings?[1] Of the letters written to you as a virgin? But now, when a slight breeze of the spirit of the air has reached you, the spirit which "now worketh on the children of unbelief,"[2] you have renounced all these things, and have exchanged that honoured and highly prized possession for a brief moment of pleasure, a pleasure which tickles your palate[3] for

[2] Cf. Eph. 2. 2. κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος, τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας. "According to the prince of the power of the air, of the spirit that now worketh on the children of unbelief."

[3] Literally, "oils your throat."

σὸν φάρυγγα, ὕστερον δὲ[1] πικρότερον χολῆς εὑρήσεις.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις τίς οὐκ ἂν πενθήσας εἴποι· Πῶς ἐγένετο πόρνη πόλις πιστὴ Σιών; πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος ἀποφθέγξαιτο πρός τινα τῶν νῦν ἐν πνεύματι Ἱερεμίου περιπατούντων· Εἶδες ἃ ἐποίησέ μοι ἡ παρθένος τοῦ Ἰσραήλ; ἐγὼ ἐμνηστευσάμην αὐτὴν ἐμαυτῷ ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀφθαρσίᾳ, ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ ἐν κρίματι, καὶ ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς, καθὼς καὶ διὰ Ὠσηὲ τοῦ προφήτου αὐτῇ ἐπηγγειλάμην. αὐτὴ δὲ ἠγαπήκει ἀλλοτρίους, καὶ ζῶντος ἐμοῦ τοῦ[2] ἀνδρός, μοιχαλὶς χρηματίζει, καὶ οὐ φοβεῖται γενομένη ἀνδρὶ ἑτέρῳ. τί δὲ ἄρα ὁ νυμφαγωγός, ὁ θεῖος καὶ μακάριος Παῦλος, ὅ τε ἀρχαῖος ἐκεῖνος, καὶ ὁ νέος οὗτος ὑφ᾽ ᾧ μεσίτῃ καὶ διδασκάλῳ τὸν πατρῷον[3] οἶκον καταλιποῦσα τῷ Κυρίῳ συνήφθης; ἆρα οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τῷ τοσούτῳ κακῷ περιπαθήσας ἑκάτερος; Φόβος γὰρ ὃν ἐφοβούμην ἦλθέ μοι, καὶ ὃν ἐδεδοίκειν συνήντησέ

[1] δὲ] μέντοι A, B, C, D. [2] ἀθανάτου add. A, B, C, D. [3] μητρῷον A, B, C, D.

[1] Cf. Isa. 1. 21. πῶς ἐγένετο πόρνη πόλις πιστὴ Σειών, πλήρης κρίσεως; ἐν ᾗ δικαιοσύνη ἐκοιμήθη ἐν αὐτῇ, νῦν δὲ φονευταί. "How is the faithful city, Sion, that was full of judgment, become a harlot? justice dwelt in it, but now murderers."

[2] These quoted words are a fusion and adaptation of three different sources: Jer. 18. 13. διὰ τοῦτο τάδε λέγει Κύριος· Ἐρωτήσατε δὴ ἐν ἔθνεσιν, Τίς ἤκουσεν τοιαῦτα φρικτὰ ἃ ἐποίησεν σφόδρα παρθένος Ἰσραήλ; "Therefore thus saith the Lord: Ask among the nations: Who hath heard such horrible things as the virgin of Israel hath done to excess?" Hosea 2. 19. καὶ μνηστεύσομαί σε ἐμαυτῷ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ μνηστεύσομαί

the moment, but which you will soon find more bitter than gall.

Who would not grieve at this, and say, "How is the faithful city, Sion, become a harlot?"[1] How can the Lord[2] Himself help saying to those who are now walking in the spirit of Jeremias: "Hast thou seen what the virgin of Israel has done to Me? I espoused her to Me in trust, in purity, in justice, in judgment, in mercy, and in commiseration, just as I promised to her through Osee the prophet. But she has loved strangers; and though I, her husband, still live, she is called an adulteress, and fears not to become the wife of another." What then of him who gave the bride to her husband, the holy and blessed Paul—I mean both the Paul of old and this Paul of to-day, under whose mediation and instruction you left your father's home and were married to the Lord?[3] Would not each one, moved to exceeding sorrow by this great misfortune, say: "For the fear which I feared hath come upon me; and that which I was afraid of hath befallen me;[4] for I have

σε ἐμαυτῷ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἐν κρίματι καὶ ἐν ἐλέει καὶ ἐν οἰκτιρμοῖς. "And I will espouse thee to me for ever: and I will espouse thee to me in justice, and in judgment, and in mercy, and in commiserations." Rom. 7. 3. *ἄρα οὖν ζῶντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μοιχαλὶς χρηματίσει, ἐὰν γένηται ἀνδρὶ ἑτέρῳ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ ἀνήρ, ἐλευθέρα ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου, τοῦ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὴν μοιχαλίδα, γενομένην ἀνδρὶ ἑτέρῳ.* "Therefore, whilst her husband liveth, she shall be called an adulteress, if she be with another man: but if her husband be dead, she is delivered from the law of her husband; so that she is not an adulteress, if she be with another man."

[3] Basil refers to two persons named Paul: (1) a priest named Paul, who confirmed the nun when she took her vows, and (2) St Paul.

[4] These are the words of Job 3. 25, not of St. Paul. All the other passages quoted in the assumed rebuke of Paul the priest are from St. Paul's Epistles.

μοι. ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ σε[1] *ἡρμοσάμην ἑνὶ ἀνδρὶ παρθένον ἁγνὴν παραστῆσαι τῷ Χριστῷ, καὶ ἐφοβούμην ἀεὶ μή πως, ὡς ὁ ὄφις ἐξηπάτησεν Εὔαν ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτοῦ, οὕτω φθαρῇ ποτὲ*[2] *τὰ νοήματά σου. διά τοι τοῦτο μυρίαις μὲν*[3] *ἐπῳδαῖς ἐπειρώμην ἀεὶ καταστέλλειν τῶν παθῶν τὸν τάραχον, μυρίαις δὲ φυλακαῖς συντηρεῖν τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν νύμφην, καὶ τὸν βίον ἀεὶ*[4] *τῆς ἀγάμου διεξῄειν, ὅτι δὴ μόνη ἡ ἄγαμος μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, ἵν' ᾖ ἁγία τῷ σώματι καὶ τῷ πνεύματι. καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς παρθενίας ὑφηγούμην, καὶ ναόν σε Θεοῦ προσαγορεύων, οἱονεὶ πτερὸν ἐδίδουν τῇ προθυμίᾳ, πρὸς Ἰησοῦν ἀνακουφίζων, καὶ τῷ φόβῳ τοῦ δεινοῦ πρὸς τὸ μὴ πεσεῖν ἐβοήθουν, λέγων,*[5] *Εἴ τις τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ φθείρει, φθερεῖ τοῦτον ὁ Θεός. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν προσευχῶν*[6] *μου*[7] *προσετίθουν*[8] *ἀσφάλειαν, εἴ πως ὁλόκληρόν σου*[9] *τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἀμέμπτως ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν*[10] *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τηρηθείη. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰκῇ ταῦτα πάντα κεκοπίακα εἰς σέ, καί μοι πικρὸν*[11] *ἐξέβη*

[1] *σε* om. C, D. [2] *ποτὲ* om. E.
[3] *ταῖς πνευματικαῖς* A, B, C, D. [4] *ἀεὶ* om. E.
[5] in A, B, C, D, legitur post *φθείρει*.
[6] *εὐχῶν* A, B, C, D. [7] *μου* om. A, B, C, D.
[8] *προσετίθην* E ; *περιετίθουν* C, D. [9] *σοι* A, B, C, D.
[10] *ἡμῶν* om. A, B, C, D, E. [11] *πικρότερον* E.

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[1] 2 Cor. 11. 2.

[2] Cf. 2 Cor. 11. 3. *φοβοῦμαι δὲ μή πως, ὡς ὁ ὄφις Εὔαν ἐξηπάτησεν ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτοῦ, οὕτω φθαρῇ τὰ νοήματα ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἁπλότητος τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστόν.* "But I fear lest, as the serpent seduced Eve by his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted, and fall from the simplicity that is in Christ."

espoused you to one husband, that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ;"[1] and, "I always feared lest, as the serpent seduced Eve by his subtilty, so your mind should be corrupted"?[2] Wherefore I always tried to compose the tumult of your passions by countless spells, and with countless safeguards to protect the bride of the Lord; to describe the life of the unmarried, saying: "The unmarried woman thinketh on the things of the Lord, that her life may be holy in body and spirit."[3] And I was wont to set forth the dignity of virginity, and, calling you "the temple of the Lord,"[4] I would as it were give wings to your zeal, thus lifting you up to Jesus; and by inspiring you with dread of the terrible thing, I tried to help you not to fall, saying: "If any man violate the temple of God, him shall God destroy."[5] Moreover, I added what assurance my prayers could offer, if in any way you might wholly, "body and soul and spirit, be preserved blameless in the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ."[6] And all this toil I have spent in vain upon you, and

[3] Cf. 1 Cor. 7. 34. *ἡ ἄγαμος μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, ἵνα ᾖ ἁγία καὶ σώματι καὶ πνεύματι.* "And the unmarried woman and the virgin (*sic* Douay) thinketh on the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit."

[4] 1 Cor. 3. 16. *οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ναὸς Θεοῦ ἐστέ, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν;* "Know you not, that you are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?"

[5] 1 Cor. 3. 17.

[6] Cf. 1 Thess. 5. 23. *αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης ἁγιάσαι ὑμᾶς ὁλοτελεῖς· καὶ ὁλόκληρον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀμέμπτως ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τηρηθείη.* "And may the God of peace Himself sanctify you in all things; that your whole spirit, and soul, and body, may be preserved blameless in the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ."

τῶν γλυκέων ἐκείνων πόνων τὸ πέρας· καὶ στένειν [1] ἀνάγκη πάλιν ἐφ' ᾗ [2] ἔδει με χαίρειν. ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἠπάτησαι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄφεως, τῆς Εὔας πικρότερον. ἔφθαρται δέ σοι οὐ τὰ νοήματα μόνον, ἀλλὰ γὰρ σὺν ἐκείνοις καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα· καὶ τὸ φρικῶδες ἐκεῖνο, ὃ καὶ εἰπεῖν ὀκνῶ, καὶ σιωπᾷν [3] οὐ δύναμαι (ἔστι γὰρ ὡς πῦρ καιόμενον καὶ φλεγόμενον [4] ἐν τοῖς ὀστέοις μου, καὶ παρεῖμαι πάντοθεν, καὶ οὐ δύναμαι φέρειν), ἄρασα τὰ μέλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ πεποίηκας μέλη πόρνης.

Τοῦτο μόνον ἐν πᾶσι κακὸν ἀσύγκριτον· τοῦτο καινὸν ἐν βίῳ τὸ τόλμημα. Ὅτι διέλθετε, φησί, νήσους Χεττιείμ, καὶ ἴδετε· καὶ εἰς Κηδὰρ ἀποστείλατε, καὶ νοήσατε σφόδρα, εἰ γέγονε τοιαῦτα, εἰ ἀλλάξονται ἔθνη θεοὺς αὐτῶν, καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰσὶ θεοί. ἡ δὲ παρθένος ἠλλάξατο τὴν δόξαν αὐτῆς, καὶ ἡ δόξα [5] ἐν τῇ αἰσχύνῃ αὐτῆς. ἐξέστη ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐπὶ τούτῳ, καὶ ἔφριξεν ἡ γῆ ἐπὶ πλεῖον σφόδρα. λέγει καὶ νῦν ὁ Κύριος, ὅτι δύο καὶ πονηρὰ ἐποίησεν ἡ παρθένος· ἐμὲ ἐγκατέλιπε τὸν ἀληθινὸν τὸν ἅγιον [6] ψυχῶν ἁγίων νυμφίον, καὶ ἀπέδρα πρὸς ἀσεβῆ καὶ παράνομον ψυχῆς ὁμοῦ καὶ σώματος φθορέα. ἀπέστη ἀπὸ Θεοῦ σωτῆρος αὐτῆς, καὶ παρέστησε τὰ μέλη αὐτῆς δοῦλα τῇ

[1] πενθεῖν E. [2] οἷς C, D. [3] σιγᾶν E.
[4] καὶ φλεγόμενον om. A, B, C, D.
[5] αὐτῆς, καὶ ἡ δόξα om. A, B, C, D.
[6] τῶν ἁγίων A, B, C, D.

bitter to me has been the end of those sweet labours; and I must lament in turn over her in whom I should have rejoiced. For lo! you have been seduced by the serpent, a more bitter seduction than Eve's. And not only "your mind" has been "corrupted,"[1] but with it your very body also; and, most horrible of all—a crime which I hesitate to name, and yet cannot pass over in silence (for it is as a burning and flaming fire in my bones, and my strength is altogether gone, and I cannot bear up under it)—you "took the members of Christ, and made them the members of a harlot."[2]

This alone of all evils cannot be equalled. This is a new piece of audacity in life. "Pass over," it is said, "to the isles of Chittim, and see; and send into Cedar, consider diligently if there hath been done anything like this, if a nation hath changed their gods, and indeed they are not gods."[3] "But the virgin 'has changed her glory,' and her glory is in her shame. Heaven was amazed at this, and the earth shuddered more violently than ever before, now saith the Lord, because the virgin 'has done two evils;' she 'has forsaken Me,' the true and holy spouse of holy souls, and has taken refuge with an impious and lawless destroyer of soul and body alike. She has withdrawn from God her saviour, and has 'yielded her members to serve uncleanness and

[1] Cf. 2 Cor. 11. 3, quoted above (p. 294).

[2] Cf. 1 Cor. 6. 15. *οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν μέλη Χριστοῦ ἐστίν; ἄρας οὖν τὰ μέλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποιήσω πόρνης μέλη; μὴ γένοιτο.* "Know you not that your bodies are the members of Christ? Shall I then take the members of Christ, and make them the members of an harlot? God forbid."

[3] Cf. Jer. 2. 10–11.

ἀκαθαρσίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀνομίᾳ.[1] ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐπελάθετο, καὶ ὀπίσω τοῦ ἐραστοῦ αὐτῆς ἐπορεύετο, ἐξ οὗ οὐκ ὀφελεθήσεται.[2]

Συνέφερεν αὐτῷ εἰ μύλος ὀνικὸς περιέκειτο περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔῤῥιπτο εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἢ ὅτι ἐσκανδάλισε τὴν παρθένον Κυρίου[3] τις. δοῦλος αὐθάδης εἰς τοσοῦτον ἐμάνη, ὡς δεσποτικῇ κοίτῃ ἑαυτὸν ἐπιῤῥῖψαι; ἢ[4] ποῖος λῃστὴς ἐπὶ[5] τοσοῦτον ἀπονοίας προήχθη, ὡς αὐτῶν ἐφάψασθαι τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀναθημάτων, οὐ σκευῶν ἀψύχων, ἀλλὰ σωμάτων ζώντων καὶ ψυχὴν ἔνοικον ἐχόντων κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ πεποιημένην; τίς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἤκουσται[6] ἐν μέσῃ πόλει καὶ σταθερᾷ μεσημβρίᾳ εἰκόνι βασιλικῇ χοίρων μορφὰς ἀκαθάρτων ἐπιγράψαι τολμήσας;[7] ἀθετήσας τις γάμον ἀνθρώπου, χωρὶς οἰκτιρμῶν, ἐπὶ δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶ μάρτυσιν, ἀποθνήσκει· πόσῳ, δοκεῖτε, χείρονος ἀξιωθήσεται τιμωρίας ὁ τὸν

[1] εἰς τὴν ἀνομίαν A, B, C, D.
[2] ἐξ οὗ οὐκ ὀφελεθήσεται om. A, B, C, D, E.
[3] Κυρίου om. E.
[4] ἢ om. A, B, C, D.
[5] ἐπὶ] εἰς E.
[6] ἤκουσεν E; ἠκούσθη A, B, C, D.
[7] τολμήσαντα E.

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[1] A fusion and adaptation of the following: Jer. 2. 12–13. ἐξέστη ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἔφριξεν ἐπὶ πλεῖον σφόδρα, λέγει Κύριος. ὅτι δύο καὶ πονηρὰ ἐποίησεν ὁ λαός μου. ἐμὲ ἐγκατέλιπον, πηγὴν ὕδατος ζωῆς, καὶ ὤρυξαν ἑαυτοῖς λάκκους συντετριμμένους οἳ οὐ δυνήσονται ὕδωρ συνέχειν. The Douay Version is based on a slightly different Greek text. "Be astonished, O ye heavens, at this, and ye gates thereof, be very desolate, saith the Lord. For My people have done two evils. They have forsaken Me, the fountain of living water, and have digged to themselves cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water." Rom. 6. 19. ἀνθρώπινον λέγω διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς

iniquity.' She 'forgot Me, and went after her lover,' from whom she will receive no good." [1]

"It were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the sea," than that anyone should have "scandalized" the virgin of the Lord.[2] Was ever an insolent slave so mad as to cast himself upon his master's bed? What robber ever reached such a degree of folly as to seize the very offerings of God, not lifeless vessels, but living bodies, containing an indwelling soul made after the image of God? Who, since time began, has been known to have dared, in the heart of the city and at high noon, to draw pictures of filthy swine upon a statue of a king? He who sets at naught a human marriage dies without compassion if there be but two or three witnesses; "how much more do you think he deserveth worse punishments,

ὑμῶν. ὥσπερ γὰρ παρεστήσατε τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν δοῦλα τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀνομίᾳ εἰς τὴν ἀνομίαν, οὕτω νῦν παραστήσατε τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν δοῦλα τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ εἰς ἁγιασμόν. "I speak an human thing, because of the infirmity of your flesh. For as you have yielded your members to serve uncleanness and iniquity, unto iniquity; so now yield your members to serve justice, unto sanctification." Hosea 2. 13. καὶ ἐκδικήσω ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν βααλεὶμ ἐν αἷς ἐπέθυεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ περιετίθετο τὰ ἐνώτια αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ καθόρμια αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπορεύετο ὀπίσω τῶν ἐραστῶν αὐτῆς, ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐπελάθετο, λέγει Κύριος. "And I will visit upon her the days of Baalim, to whom she burnt incense, and decked herself out with her earrings, and with her jewels, and went after her lovers, and forgot me, saith the Lord."

[2] Cf. Luke 17. 2. λυσιτελεῖ αὐτῷ εἰ μύλος ὀνικὸς περίκειται περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔρριπται εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἢ ἵνα σκανδαλίσῃ ἕνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων. "It were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the sea, than that he should scandalize one of these little ones."

Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ καταπατήσας, καὶ τὴν αὐτῷ καθομολογηθεῖσαν νύμφην νοθεύσας, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς παρθενίας καθυβρίσας;[1] *ἀλλ' ἐβούλετο, φησίν, ἐκείνη· καὶ οὐκ ἄκουσαν ἐβιασάμην αὐτήν.*[2] *καὶ γὰρ ἡ δέσποινα ἡ ἄσωτος ἡ Αἰγυπτία*[3] *αὐτὴ τῷ καλῷ Ἰωσὴφ ἐπεμάνη, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐνίκησε τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ σώφρονος ἡ μανία τῆς ἀκολάστου, οὐδὲ χερσὶν αὐτῆς βιαζομένης πρὸς τὴν παρανομίαν ἐκεῖνος ἐβιάσθη. ἀλλ' ἐκέκριτο ἐκείνῃ τοῦτο, φησίν, καὶ οὐκέτι ἦν παρθένος· καὶ εἰ ἐγὼ μὴ ἐβουλόμην, πρὸς ἄλλον ἂν ἐφθάρη.*[4] *καὶ γὰρ τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, φησίν, ἔδει παραδοθῆναι, ἀλλ' οὐαὶ δι' οὗ παρεδόθη· καὶ τὰ σκάνδαλα ἐλθεῖν ἀνάγκη, ἀλλ' οὐαὶ δι' οὗ ἔρχεται.*[5]

Ἐπὶ τούτοις, Μὴ ὁ πίπτων οὐκ ἀνίσταται; ἢ ὁ ἀποστρέφων οὐκ ἐπιστρέφει; διὰ τί[6] *ἀπέστρεψεν ἡ παρθένος ἀποστροφὴν ἀναιδῆ, καίτοιγε ἀκούσασα Χριστοῦ*[7] *τοῦ νυμφίου διὰ Ἱερεμίου λέγοντος· Καὶ εἶπα μετὰ τὸ πορνεῦσαι αὐτὴν ταῦτα πάντα· πρός με ἀνάστρεψον· καὶ οὐκ*

[1] *ἐνυβρίσας* A, B, C, D. [2] *αὐτήν* om. A, B, C, D.
[3] *ἡ Αἰγυπτία* om. C, D. [4] *διεφθάρη* C, D.
[5] *ἔρχονται* C, D. [6] *διὰ τί*] *διότι* A, B.
[7] *χρηστοῦ* C, D.

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[1] Cf. Heb. 10. 29. *πόσῳ δοκεῖτε χείρονος ἀξιωθήσεται τιμωρίας ὁ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ καταπατήσας, καὶ τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης κοινὸν ἡγησάμενος ἐν ᾧ ἡγιάσθη, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος ἐνυβρίσας;* "How much more do you think he deserveth worse punishments, who hath trodden underfoot the Son of God, and hath esteemed the blood of the testament unclean, by which he was sanctified, and hath offered an affront to the Spirit of grace?"

who hath trodden underfoot the Son of God," and hath defiled his confessed bride, and hath insulted the spirit of virginity?[1] "But she desired it," he says; "and I did not violate her against her will." Why! that abandoned Egyptian woman of herself went mad with love for the beautiful Joseph, but the madness of the wanton woman did not prevail over the virtue of the chaste man; nay, not even when she laid violent hands upon him was he forced into iniquity. "But," he replies, "in the case of the Egyptian woman, this matter had been decided, and she was no longer a virgin; and had it not been I who wished it, she would have been ravished by another." And yet we are told, "It was ordained that the Son of man be betrayed, but woe to that man by whom he was betrayed";[2] and, "It must needs be that scandals come; but woe to that man by whom the scandal cometh."[3]

Furthermore, "Shall not he that falleth rise again? and he that is turned away, shall he not turn again?"[4] Why did the virgin turn away, a shameless turning, even though she heard Christ her spouse declare through Jeremias: "And when she had committed all these fornications, I said:

[2] Cf. Mark 14. 21. *ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπάγει, καθὼς γέγραπται περὶ αὐτοῦ· οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ, δι' οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται.* "And the Son of man indeed goeth, as it is written of him: but woe to that man by whom the Son of man shall be betrayed."

[3] Cf. Matt. 18. 7. *οὐαὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ἀπὸ τῶν σκανδάλων· ἀνάγκη γάρ ἐστιν ἐλθεῖν τὰ σκάνδαλα. πλὴν οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ, δι' οὗ τὸ σκάνδαλον ἔρχεται.* "Woe to the world because of scandals. For it must needs be that scandals come: but nevertheless woe to that man by whom the scandal cometh."

[4] Jer. 8. 4.

ἀνέστρεψε. Μὴ ῥητίνη οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν Γαλαάδ; ἢ ἰατρὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκεῖ; διὰ τί οὐκ ἀνέβη ἴασις θυγατρὸς λαοῦ μου; ἢ καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἂν εὕροις ἐν τῇ θείᾳ Γραφῇ τοῦ κακοῦ ἀλεξήματα, πολλὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀπωλείας εἰς σωτηρίαν φάρμακα· τὰ περὶ θανάτου καὶ ἀναστάσεως μυστήρια, τὰ περὶ κρίσεως φοβερᾶς καὶ αἰωνίου κολάσεως ῥήματα, τὰ περὶ μετανοίας καὶ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτημάτων [1] δόγματα, τὰ μυρία ἐκεῖνα τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς [2] ὑποδείγματα, τὴν δραχμήν,[3] τὸ πρόβατον, τὸν υἱὸν τὸν καταφαγόντα τὸν βίον μετὰ τῶν πορνῶν, τὸν ἀπολωλότα καὶ εὑρεθέντα, τὸν νεκρὸν καὶ πάλιν [4] ἀναζήσαντα. τούτοις χρησώμεθα τοῦ κακοῦ ἀλεξήμασι,[5] διὰ τούτων τὴν ψυχὴν ἑαυτῶν ἰασώμεθα.

Λάβε δὲ εἰς ἔννοιαν τὴν ἐσχάτην ἡμέραν (οὐ γὰρ δὴ μόνη σὺ τὸν αἰῶνα βιώσεις),[6] καὶ συνοχήν, καὶ πνιγμόν, καὶ θανάτου ὥραν, καὶ ἀπόφασιν Θεοῦ κατεπείγουσαν, καὶ ἀγγέλους ἐπισπεύδοντας, καὶ ψυχὴν ἐν τούτοις δεινῶς θορυβουμένην καὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ συνειδότι πικρῶς μαστιγουμένην,[7] καὶ πρὸς τὰ τῇδε ἐλεεινῶς ἐπιστρέφουσαν,[8] καὶ ἀπαραίτητον τῆς μακρᾶς ἐκείνης ἀποδημίας ἀνάγκην. διάγραψόν μοι τῇ διανοίᾳ τὴν τελευταίαν τοῦ κοινοῦ βίου καταστροφήν, ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ. ἥξει γὰρ καὶ οὐ παρασιωπήσεται· ὅταν ἔλθῃ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ

[1] ἁμαρτιῶν E.
[2] ὑποστροφῆς E.
[3] καὶ add. E.
[4] πάλιν om. A, B, C, D.
[5] βοηθήμασι A, B, C, D.
[6] μιάσεις E.
[7] προμαστιγουμένην C, D.
[8] ὑποστρέφουσαν C, D.

Return to me; and she did not return"?[1] "Is there no balm in Gilead? or is there no physician there? Why then is not the wound of the daughter of my people closed?"[2] Many indeed are the safeguards against evil which you may find in the divine Scriptures, and many the remedies which out of destruction bring salvation: the mysteries of death and resurrection, the words of terrible judgment and everlasting punishment, the doctrines of repentance and remission of sin, those countless examples of reform,—the piece of money, the sheep, the son who wasted his substance with harlots, was lost and found, was dead and alive again.[3] Let us make use of these safeguards against evil; through these remedies let us heal our souls.

But bear in mind your last day (for not you alone will live for ever), the anguish, the struggle for breath, the hour of death, the sentence of God urging us to hasten, angels pressing us on, the soul terribly dismayed by all these things, bitterly racked by conscious guilt, and piteously turning, now back to this life, now to the inevitable necessity of that long journey. Picture to yourself, I pray, the very end of human life, when the Son of God shall come in His glory with His angels. For He "shall come, and shall not keep silence,"[4] when He comes to judge the living and the dead, and to dispense to

[1] The Douay version reads, "done all these things," instead of "committed all these fornications," the Septuagint reading. Cf. Jer. 3. 7.

[2] Jer. 8. 22.

[3] Cf. Luke 15.

[4] Cf. Psal. 50. 3. ὁ θεὸς ἐμφανῶς ἥξει, ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ οὐ παρασιωπήσεται. "God shall come manifestly: our God shall come, and shall not keep silence."

κατὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτοῦ· ὅταν ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐκείνη μέγα τι καὶ φοβερὸν ἠχήσασα, τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἐξυπνίσῃ καθεύδοντας, καὶ ἐκπορεύσονται[1] *οἱ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ποιήσαντες εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς, οἱ δὲ τὰ φαῦλα πράξαντες εἰς ἀνάστασιν κρίσεως. μνήσθητι τῆς τοῦ Δανιὴλ θεοπτίας, ὅπως ἡμῖν ὑπ' ὄψιν*[2] *ἄγει τὴν κρίσιν. Ἐθεώρουν, φησίν,*[3] *ἕως ὅτου θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν, καὶ παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν ἐκάθητο,*[4] *καὶ τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ λευκὸν ὡς*[5] *χιών, καὶ ἡ θρὶξ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὡς ἔριον καθαρόν, οἱ τροχοὶ αὐτοῦ, πῦρ φλέγον. ποταμὸς πυρὸς εἷλκεν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ· χίλιαι χιλιάδες ἐλειτούργουν αὐτῷ, καὶ μύριαι μυριάδες παρειστήκεισαν αὐτῷ.*[6] *κριτήριον ἐκάθισε, καὶ βίβλοι ἀνεῴχθησαν, τὰ καλά, τὰ φαῦλα, τὰ φανερά, τὰ κεκρυμμένα, τὰ πράγματα, τὰ ῥήματα, τὰ ἐνθυμήματα, τὰ πάντα*[7] *ἀθρόως*[8] *εἰς ἐξάκουστον τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις σαφῶς ἀνακαλύπτουσαι. πρὸς ταῦτα ποταποὺς εἶναι ἀνάγκη τοὺς κακῶς βεβιωκότας; ποῦ ἄρα ἡ ψυχὴ ἐκείνη καταδύσεται, ἡ ἐν ὄψεσι τοσούτων θεατῶν ἐξαίφνης ὀφθεῖσα αἰσχύνης ἀνάπλεως; ποίῳ δὲ σώματι τὰς ἀπεράντους ἐκείνας καὶ ἀνυποίστους ὑποστήσεται μάστιγας, ὅπου πῦρ ἄσβεστον, καὶ σκώληξ ἀθάνατα κολάζων, καὶ πυθμὴν ᾅδου σκοτεινὸς καὶ φρικώδης, καὶ οἰμωγαὶ πικραί, καὶ ὀλολυγμὸς ἐξαίσιος, καὶ κλαυθμὸς*[9] *καὶ βρυγμὸς ὀδόντων, καὶ πέρας οὐκ ἔχει τὰ*

[1] *ἀναστήσονται* E.
[2] *σοι* add. E.
[3] *ἐθεώρουν, φησίν*] *ὅτι φησὶν ἐθεώρουν* E.
[4] *ἐκαθέζετο* A, B, C, D.
[5] Sic MSS.
[6] Sic MSS.
[7] *τὰ πάντα* om. A, B.

each according to his deed; when that trumpet, resounding with a loud and terrible call, shall awaken those who have been sleeping for ages. "And they that have done good things shall come forth unto the resurrection of life; but they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of judgment."[1] Recall the divine vision of Daniel,[2] how he brings the judgment before our eyes. He says: "I beheld till thrones were placed, and the Ancient of Days sat: his garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like clean wool: . . . the wheels of it like a burning fire. A swift stream of fire issued forth from before him: thousands of thousands ministered to him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened," revealing clearly so as to be known of all, both angels and men, all things at once, whether good or evil, open or concealed, our deeds, words, and thoughts. When they confront these things, how must those feel who have lived wickedly? Where, pray, will that soul hide itself which is suddenly exposed, filled with shame, to the eyes of so many spectators? What strength will it have to endure those endless and intolerable scourgings in the regions where is the fire unquenched, the worm[3] that administers everlasting punishment, the dark and horrible abyss of Hades, the bitter moans, the violent lamentation, the wailing and gnashing of teeth, and the horrors without end? From these

[1] John 5. 29. [2] Dan. 7. 9–10.
[3] Cf. Mark 9. 44, 46, 48.

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[8] φανερῶς E. [9] κλαθμὸς E.

δεινά; τούτων οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπαλλαγὴ μετὰ θάνατον, οὐδέ τις ἐπίνοια, οὐδὲ μηχανὴ τοῦ διεκδῦναι[1] τὰ πικρὰ κολαστήρια.

Ταῦτα φεύγειν ἔξεστι νῦν. ἕως ἔξεστιν, ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ πτώματος ἀναλάβωμεν, μηδὲ ἀπελπίσωμεν ἑαυτῶν,[2] ἐὰν ἀναλύσωμεν ἀπὸ τῶν κακῶν. Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἁμαρτωλοὺς σῶσαι. δεῦτε, προσκυνήσωμεν καὶ προσπέσωμεν αὐτῷ,[3] καὶ κλαύσωμεν ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ. ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ μετάνοιαν καλῶν ὁ Λόγος βοᾷ καὶ κέκραγε· Δεῦτε πρός με πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες καὶ πεφορτισμένοι, κἀγὼ ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς.[4] ἔστιν οὖν[5] ὁδὸς σωτηρίας, ἐὰν θέλωμεν. κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος ἰσχύσας, ἀλλ' εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι πάλιν ἀφεῖλεν ὁ Θεὸς πᾶν δάκρυον ἀπὸ παντὸς προσώπου τῶν μετανοούντων. Πιστὸς Κύριος ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ. οὐ ψεύδεται εἰπών· Ἐὰν ὦσιν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ὑμῶν ὡς φοινικοῦν, ὡς χιόνα λευκανῶ· ἐὰν δὲ ὦσιν ὡς κόκκινον, ὡσεὶ ἔριον λευκανῶ. ἕτοιμός ἐστιν ὁ μέγας τῶν ψυχῶν ἰατρὸς ἰάσασθαί σου τὸ πάθος, ὃς οὐδὲ μονωτάτης, ἀλλὰ πάντων τῶν δεδουλωμένων τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἐστὶν ἕτοιμος ἐλευθερωτής.[6] ἐκείνου ῥήματά ἐστιν, ἐκεῖνο τὸ γλυκὺ καὶ σωτήριον στόμα εἶπεν· Οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἰσχύοντες ἰατροῦ, ἀλλὰ οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες. οὐκ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν. τίς οὖν ἐστί

[1] ἐκδῦναι C. [2] ἑαυτοὺς E. [3] αὐτῷ om. C, D.
[4] Δεῦτε πρός με . . . ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς om. A, B, C, D, E.
[5] οὖν om. MSS.
[6] ὃς οὐδὲ . . . ἕτοιμος ἐλευθερωτής om. A, B, C, D, E.

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[1] Cf. Psal. 95. 6. Basil says "Him" instead of "the Lord that made us," the actual reading of the Scriptures.

woes there is no release after death, nor any device or means of escaping these bitter punishments.

But now it is possible for us to avoid them. While it is still possible, let us raise ourselves from the fall, and not despair of ourselves, if only we become free from sin. Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners. "Come, let us adore and fall down and weep before Him."[1] The Word calls us to repentance, crying aloud: "Come to me, all you that labour and are burdened, and I will refresh you."[2] There is, then, a way to salvation, if we will. Death in his might swallows us up; but rest assured that God hath again wiped away tears from the face of every penitent.[3] "The Lord is faithful in all His words."[4] He does not lie when He says: "If your sins be as scarlet, they shall be made as white as snow: and if they be red as crimson, they shall be white as wool."[5] The great Physician of souls is ready to cure your ill; for He is the ready liberator, not of you alone, but of all who have been enslaved by sin. His are the words, His sweet and saving lips have said: "They that are in health need not a physician, but they that are ill. I am not come to call the just, but sinners to repentance."[6] What excuse have you or anyone else,

[2] Matt. 11. 28.

[3] Cf. Isa. 25. 8. *κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος ἰσχύσας, καὶ πάλιν ἀφεῖλεν Κύριος ὁ θεὸς πᾶν δάκρυον ἀπὸ παντὸς προσώπου· τὸ ὄνειδος τοῦ λαοῦ ἀφεῖλεν ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς γῆς, τὸ γὰρ στόμα Κυρίου ἐλάλησεν.* Here again the Douay version does not follow the text as we have it. "He shall cast death down headlong for ever: and the Lord God shall wipe away tears from every face, and the reproach of His people He shall take away from off the whole earth: for the Lord hath spoken it."

[4] Psal. 145. 17. [5] Isa. 1. 18. [6] Matt. 9. 12-13.

σοι πρόφασις, ἢ τινι ἄλλῳ, ταῦτα αὐτοῦ βοῶντος[1]; βούλεται Κύριος καθαρίσαι σε ἀπὸ τοῦ πόνου τῆς πληγῆς, καὶ δεῖξαί σοι φῶς ἀπὸ σκότους. σὲ ζητεῖ ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός, ὁ καταλιπὼν τὰ μὴ πεπλανημένα. ἐὰν ἐπιδῷς σεαυτήν, οὐκ ὀκνήσει, οὐδ' ἀπαξιώσει σε ὁ φιλάνθρωπος ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων βαστάσαι[2] τῶν ἰδίων, χαίρων ὅτι εὗρεν αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόβατον τὸ ἀπολωλός.

Ἕστηκεν ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ ἀναμένει τὴν σὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης ἐπάνοδον. μόνον ἀνάλυσον, καὶ ἔτι σου μακρὰν οὔσης προσδραμὼν ἐπιπεσεῖται ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλόν σου,[3] καὶ φιλικοῖς ἀσπασμοῖς περιπτύξεται τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς μετανοίας ἤδη κεκαθαρμένην. καὶ στολὴν ἐνδύσει, τὴν πρώτην, ψυχὴν ἀπεκδυσαμένην τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον σὺν ταῖς αὐτοῦ πράξεσι· καὶ περιθήσει δακτύλιον χερσὶν ἀποπλυναμέναις τοῦ[4] θανάτου τὸ αἷμα, καὶ ὑποδήσει πόδας ἀποστρέψαντας[5] ἀπὸ ὁδοῦ κακῆς πρὸς τὸν δρόμον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς εἰρήνης. καὶ εὐφροσύνης καὶ χαρᾶς ἡμέραν[6] καταγγελεῖ τοῖς ἰδίοις καὶ ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις. καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ τὴν σὴν ἑορτάσει σωτηρίαν. Ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω, φησίν, ὑμῖν, ὅτι χαρὰ γίνεται ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ ἑνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ[7] μετανοοῦντι.[1] κἂν ἐγκαλέσῃ τις τῶν ἑστάναι δοκούντων, ὅτι ταχὺ προσελήφθης, αὐτὸς ὁ ἀγαθὸς Πατὴρ[8] ὑπὲρ

[1] τίς οὖν . . . αὐτοῦ βοῶντος; om. C, D, E.
[2] βαστάξαι A, B. [3] σου om. A, B. [4] τὸ E.
[5] ὑποστρέψαντας C, D. [6] ἡμέρας D.
[7] ἀνθρώπῳ E. [8] σώτηρ B.

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[1] Cf. Luke 15. 7. The exact quotation is: λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὕτω χαρὰ ἔσται ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐπὶ ἑνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι,

when He Himself utters these words? The Lord wishes to purge you of the pain of the wound, and to show you the light after darkness. The good Shepherd, who has left those which have not strayed, seeks you. If you give yourself over to Him, He will not delay, nor in His kindness will He disdain to carry you on His own shoulders, rejoicing that He has found His sheep which was lost.

The Father stands awaiting your return from your wandering. Only come back, and while you are still afar off, He will run and throw Himself upon your neck; in embraces of love He will enfold you, already purified by your repentance. He will first put a robe upon you, a soul which has put off the old man and all his works; He will place a ring on the hands which have been cleansed of the blood of death; and He will bind sandals to the feet which have turned away from the road of evil to the path of the Gospel of peace. And He will proclaim a day of happiness and joy for His own, both angels and men, and in every way will celebrate your salvation. For He[1] says, "Amen I say to you, that there is joy in heaven before God upon one sinner that doth penance." And if some one of those who think they stand finds fault because you have been quickly received, the good Father[2] Himself

ἢ ἐπὶ ἐννενηκονταεννέα δικαίοις, οἵτινες οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσιν μετανοίας. "I say to you, that even so there shall be joy in heaven upon one sinner that doth penance, more than upon ninety-nine just who need not penance."

[2] Cf. Luke 15. 32. The exact quotation is: *εὐφρανθῆναι δὲ καὶ χαρῆναι ἔδει, ὅτι ὁ ἀδελφός σου οὗτος νεκρὸς ἦν, καὶ ἀνέζησε· καὶ ἀπολωλὼς ἦν, καὶ εὑρέθη.* "But it was fit that we should make merry and be glad, for this thy brother was dead and is come to life again; he was lost, and is found."

σοῦ ἀπολογήσεται λέγων, Εὐφρανθῆναι δεῖ καὶ χαρῆναι, ὅτι αὕτη ἡ θυγάτηρ μου νεκρὰ ἦν καὶ ἀνέζησε, καὶ ἀπολωλυῖα καὶ εὑρέθη.

XLVII

Γρηγορίῳ ἑταίρῳ[1]

Τίς δώσει μοι πτέρυγας ὡσεὶ περιστερᾶς, ἢ πῶς ἀνακαινισθῇ μου τὸ γῆρας, ὥστε με δυνηθῆναι διαβῆναι πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην, καὶ τόν τε πόθον ὃν ἔχω ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἀναπαῦσαι καὶ τὰ λυπηρὰ τῆς ψυχῆς διηγήσασθαι, καὶ δι' ὑμῶν εὑρέσθαι τινὰ παραμυθίαν τῶν θλίψεων; ἐπὶ γὰρ τῇ κοιμήσει τοῦ μακαρίου Εὐσεβίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου φόβος ἡμᾶς κατέλαβεν οὐ μικρός, μή ποτε οἵ ποτε ἐφεδρεύοντες τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἡμῶν καὶ βουλόμενοι αὐτὴν αἱρετικῶν ζιζανίων πληρῶ-

[1] Γρηγορίῳ ἑταίρῳ περὶ τῆς κοιμήσεως Εὐσεβίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου· καὶ ὅτι ἔχει πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τὸν εἰς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐπιτήδειον E, etiam in Codicibus Vat. et Med.

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[1] Written in the summer of 370. Letters XLVII to CCXCI inclusive form the second main division of Basil's letters according to the Benedictine arrangement, *i.e.* those written during his episcopate. This letter is written, not by Basil, but about Basil. According to the Benedictine editors (cf. also Tillemont, Note 32), the elder Gregory is here writing through his son to Eusebius of Samosata.

In 370 Eusebius, Archbishop of Caesarea, died, and Basil, who had really filled the archiepiscopacy for some years, was of all possible competitors for the vacant see the ablest. Basil himself was very eager for it, and, desiring the active

will speak in your defence, saying, "It was fit that we should make merry and be glad, for this My daughter was dead, and is come to life again; she was lost, and is found."

LETTER XLVII

To friend Gregory[1]

"Who will give me wings like a dove,"[2] or how can my old age be renewed, that I may have the strength to go to your affection, and both relieve the longing I have for you and recount the sorrows that grieve my soul, and thus through you find a solace for my afflictions? For when our blessed bishop Eusebius[3] fell asleep, we were seized with no little fear lest the enemies that hitherto have lain in wait for the church of our metropolis, and have desired to fill it with the tares of heresy, may

support of the younger Gregory, his friend, summoned him to Caesarea on the plea of his own severe illness. The younger Gregory questioned Basil's motives in the whole affair, and refused to go. Cf. Letter LX (XXI) of Gregory Nazianzenus. Cf. also Introd. p. xxx. Had it not been for the prompt and practical intervention of Gregory the elder, and the appeal of this letter to Eusebius of Samosata, the archbishopric might have fallen into unworthy or inferior hands.

This letter appears as Number 42 in the letters of Gregory of Nazianzus.

[2] Psal. 55. 6.

[3] On the death of Dianius in 362, this Eusebius had been elected bishop of Caesarea, also through the counsels and influence of the elder Gregory. It was Eusebius who ordained Basil to the presbyterate, and at first chafed because of the activity and success of his more able subordinate.

σαι, καιροῦ νῦν[1] λαβόμενοι, τὴν πολλῷ καμάτῳ κατασπαρεῖσαν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐσέβειαν ταῖς παρ' ἑαυτῶν πονηραῖς διδασκαλίαις ἐκριζώσωσι, καὶ ταύτης τὴν ἑνότητα κατατέμωσιν, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἐκκλησίων πεποιήκασιν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ γράμματα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφίκετο τοῦ κλήρου, παρακαλοῦντα μὴ παροφθῆναι ἐν καιρῷ τοιούτῳ, περιβλεψάμενος ἐν κύκλῳ ἐμνήσθην τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγάπης, καὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως, καὶ τοῦ ζήλου ὃν ἔχετε ἀεὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκκλησίων τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Καὶ τούτου ἕνεκεν ἀπέστειλα τὸν ἀγαπητὸν Εὐστάθιον τὸν συνδιάκονον, παρακαλέσαι ὑμῶν τὴν σεμνοπρέπειαν καὶ δυσωπῆσαι πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκκλησίων καμάτοις καὶ τὸν παρόντα ἐπιθεῖναι, κἀμοῦ τε τὸ γῆρας τῇ συντυχίᾳ ἀναπαῦσαι, καὶ τῇ ὀρθῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὴν περιβόητον εὐσέβειαν διορθώσασθαι, δόντας αὐτῇ μεθ' ἡμῶν (εἰ ἄρα καταξιωθείημεν συναντιλαβέσθαι ὑμῖν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἔργου) ποιμένα κατὰ τὸ βούλημα τοῦ Κυρίου, δυνάμενον διευθῦναι τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ. ἔχομεν γὰρ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἄνδρα ὃν οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ ἀγνοεῖτε· οὗ εἰ καταξιωθείημεν ἐπιτυχεῖν, οἶδα ὅτι μεγάλην παῤῥησίαν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν κτησόμεθα, καὶ τῷ ἐπικαλεσαμένῳ ἡμᾶς λαῷ μεγίστην εὐεργεσίαν καταθησόμεθα. ἀλλὰ παρακαλῶ καὶ πάλιν καὶ πολλάκις, πάντα ὄκνον ὑπερθεμένους ἀπαντῆσαι καὶ προλαβεῖν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ χειμῶνος δυσχερῆ.

[1] νῦν om. A, B.

seize the present opportunity, and by their wicked doctrines may uproot the true faith which has been implanted with much labour in the souls of men, and destroy our present unity, as they have done in many a church. And when we receive letters from the clergy, urging us not to overlook them in such a crisis, as I looked about me on all sides, I remembered your love, your true faith, and the zeal which you have always had for the churches of God.

Therefore I have despatched my beloved fellow-deacon Eustathius[1] to beg and importune your reverence to add this new labour to all your past endeavours in behalf of the churches, and not only to refresh my old age by your presence, but also to restore the heralded piety of the true church, by aiding us—if indeed we are accounted worthy to participate with you in the good work—to give our church a pastor according to the Lord's wish, one able to direct his people. For we have in mind a man whom you also know well; and if we are thought worthy to obtain him, I am sure that we shall acquire great courage before God, and shall lay up the greatest store of benefit with the people who have invoked our aid. Nay, I beg you once again, and many times, to cast aside all reluctance and visit me, and to forestall the hardships of winter.

[1] Basil had a deacon Eustathius (cf. Letter CXXXVI); but this proves little for the authenticity of this letter, because Eustathius was a very common name. Furthermore, a monk Eustathius is mentioned in the will of Gregory of Nazianzus.

XLVIII

Εὐσεβίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Σαμοσάτων[1]

Μόλις ἡμῖν ὑπῆρξεν ἐπιτυχεῖν διακόνου γραμμάτων πρὸς τὴν σὴν θεοσέβειαν, ἐπεὶ οἵ γε παρ' ἡμῖν οὕτω κατέπτηξαν[2] τὸν χειμῶνα, ὡς μηδὲ τὸ μικρότατον[3] προκύπτειν τῶν δωματίων[4] ἀνέχεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ τοσούτῳ πλήθει χιόνων κατενίφημεν, ὡς αὐτοῖς οἴκοις καταχωσθέντας[5] δύο μῆνας ἤδη ταῖς καταδύσεσιν ἐμφωλεύειν. συγγνώσῃ οὖν πάντως ἡμῖν, τό τε ἄτολμον τῶν Καππαδοκικῶν ἠθῶν[6] καὶ τὸ τῶν σωμάτων δυσκίνητον ἐπιστάμενος, εἰ μὴ θᾶττον ἐπεστείλαμεν, μηδ' εἰς γνῶσιν ἠγάγομεν τῇ τιμιότητί σου τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας, ἃ πάντως μὲν γνωρίζειν σοι ἕωλόν ἐστι καὶ ψυχρόν, πάλαι μεμαθηκότι, ὡς τὸ εἰκός. πλὴν ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἡγούμενοι πρᾶγμα καὶ τὰ ἐγνωσμένα σημαίνειν, ἀπεστείλαμεν τὰς διὰ τοῦ ἀναγνώστου κομισθείσας ἐπιστολάς. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς τοσοῦτον.

Ἡ δὲ Κωνσταντινούπολις[7] ἔχει τὸν Δημόφιλον πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον,[8] ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἀπαγγελοῦσι[9] καὶ προκεκήρυκται πάντως τῇ ὁσιότητί

[1] Εὐσεβίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ E, F; τῷ αὐτῷ περὶ Δημοφίλου A, B; τῷ αὐτῷ ἀπολογία διὰ τὸ βαρὺ τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ περὶ Δημοφίλου ἐπισκόπου μετανοεῖν φημιζομένου C, D.

[2] κατέστηξαν C. [3] σμικρότατον C, D, E, F.

[4] δωμάτων E.

[5] καταχωσθέντες A, B, C, D; καταχωσθέντο (σ fr. as rasura) F. [6] Καππαδοκῶν ἦθος C, D.

[7] Ἡ δὲ Κωνσταντινούπολις] Κωνσταντινούπολις δὲ C, D.

[8] πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον] πολὺς ἤδη χρόνος C, D.

LETTER XLVIII

To Eusebius, Bishop of Samosata [1]

We have had great difficulty in obtaining a carrier for our letter to your reverence, because in our land people so shudder at the winter that they cannot bring themselves even to put their heads out of their chambers for a moment. Indeed, we have been overwhelmed with such a mass of snow, that for two months now we have been lurking in our burrows, buried with our very houses. So, being yourself aware of the characteristic timidity and immobility of the Cappadocians,[2] you will surely forgive us for not writing sooner and bringing the affairs of Antioch to the attention of your excellency. To be sure, these things are too "stale and cold" [3] to be made known to you now, since you probably have long since been informed of them. However, since we do not count it a task to tell you even of things you know, we have sent you the letters in the care of our reader. But enough on this subject.

Constantinople has had Demophilus [4] now for some time, as they themselves will also report to you, and as your holiness has surely been notified already.

[1] Written in the spring of 371; cf. Loofs and Schäfer, ll. c. Cf. Letters XXXI, XXXIV.

[2] The Cappadocians were notorious for their bad character. Together with the Cretans and Cilicians, they were accounted the *τρία κάππα κάκιστα*, "three worst kappas."

[3] Dem. *Meid.* 112.

[4] Demophilus was elected bishop in 370, to fill the see left vacant by the death of Eudoxius.

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[9] ἀπαγγέλλουσι F.

σου. καί τι περὶ αὐτὸν πλάσμα ὀρθότητος καὶ εὐλαβείας παρὰ πάντων συμφώνως τῶν ἀφικνουμένων θρυλλεῖται,[1] ὡς καὶ τὰ διεστῶτα τῆς πόλεως μέρη εἰς ταὐτὸν συνελθεῖν, καὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων τινὰς ἐπισκόπων τὴν ἕνωσιν καταδέξασθαι. οἱ δὲ ἡμέτεροι οὐδὲν ἀμείνους ἐφάνησαν τῶν ἐλπίδων· ἐπιστάντες γὰρ εὐθὺς κατὰ πόδας τῆς ὑμετέρας[2] ἐξόδου, πολλὰ μὲν εἶπον[3] λυπηρά, πολλὰ δὲ ἐποίησαν, καὶ τέλος ἀνεχώρησαν, βεβαιώσαντες ἡμῖν τὸ σχίσμα.[4] εἰ μὲν οὖν[5] τι γενήσεται βέλτιον, καὶ εἰ παύσονται τῆς κακίας, ἄδηλον παντὶ πλὴν ἢ τῷ Θεῷ. τὰ μὲν οὖν παρόντα τοιαῦτα.

Ἡ δὲ λοιπὴ ἐκκλησία εὐσταθεῖ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι, καὶ εὔχεται ὁμοῦ τῷ ἦρι ἰδεῖν σε πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας, καὶ ἀνανεωθῆναι διὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς σου διδασκαλίας. κἀμοὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα οὐδὲν ἄμεινον τῆς συνηθείας ἔχει.

XLIX

Ἀρκαδίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ

Ηὐχαρίστησα τῷ ἁγίῳ Θεῷ, γράμμασιν ἐντυχὼν τῆς[6] εὐλαβείας ὑμῶν, καὶ εὔχομαι αὐτός τε τῆς ἐλπίδος, ἣν ἔχετε ἐφ᾽ ἡμῖν, ἄξιος εἶναι, καὶ ὑμᾶς[7] τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τιμῇ ἡμῶν, ἣν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι

[1] θρυλεῖται A, B, E, F.
[2] ἡμετέρας E.
[3] εἶπαν F.
[4] σχῆμα E.
[5] οὖν om. C, D.
[6] τῆς C, D, E; τὴν edd.
[7] ἡμᾶς C.

A certain simulation of orthodoxy and piety on his part is uniformly noised abroad by all who come from there. The result is that even the parts of the city that had been divided by schism have come together, and even some of the neighbouring bishops have accepted the union. And our own people have proved themselves no better than our expectation; for, visiting us immediately after your departure, they said and did much that was grievous, and finally withdrew, affirming to me their schism.[1] Now whether the situation will become better and they will put an end to their wickedness "is clear to none but God."[2] So much, then, regarding our present circumstances.

The rest of the church by God's grace stands firm, and prays that we may see you again in my diocese with the arrival of spring, and that we may be renewed by your sound teaching. As for myself, I enjoy no better health than usual.

LETTER XLIX

To Bishop Arcadius[3]

After I had read the letter of your reverence, I gave thanks to holy God, and I pray that I may be worthy of the hope which you place in me, and that you may obtain full recompense for the honour

[1] Letters XCVIII, CXLI, and CCLXXXII also tell of the troubles set in Basil's path after he became bishop.

[2] Part of a senarius line, but its source is unknown.

[3] Written at the beginning of Basil's episcopate. Basil thanks Arcadius for special confidence which he has placed in him, and promises Arcadius relics for his new church, if any can be found.

τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τιμᾶτε ἡμᾶς, μισθὸν τέλειον κομίσασθαι. ὑπερήσθημεν δέ, ὅτι καὶ μέριμναν πρέπουσαν Χριστιανῷ ἀναλαβόντες, εἰς δόξαν τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ οἶκον ἠγείρατε, καὶ ἠγαπήσατε τῷ ὄντι, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, Εὐπρέπειαν οἴκου Κυρίου, εὐτρεπίσαντες ἑαυτοῖς τὴν οὐράνιον μονὴν τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην ἐν τῇ ἀναπαύσει τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ. ἐὰν δὲ δυνηθῶμεν περινοῆσαι λείψανα μαρτύρων, εὐχόμεθα καὶ αὐτοὶ συμβαλέσθαι ὑμῶν τῇ σπουδῇ. εἰ γὰρ εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον ἔσται δίκαιος, κοινωνοὶ ἐσόμεθα, δηλονότι, τῆς ἀγαθῆς μνήμης τῆς δοθησομένης ὑμῖν παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου.

L

Ἰννοκεντίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ[1]

Καὶ τίνι ἄλλῳ ἔπρεπε καὶ δειλοῖς θάρσος ἐμποιεῖν καὶ καθεύδοντας διυπνίζειν ἢ τῇ σῇ τοῦ ἡμετέρου Δεσπότου θεοσεβείᾳ, ὃς τὴν ἐν πᾶσι σεαυτοῦ τελειότητα καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐγνώρισας, τῷ καταδέξασθαι καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς ταπεινοῖς συγκαταβῆναι, ὡς ἀληθινὸς μαθητὴς τοῦ εἰπόντος ὅτι Ἐκεῖ εἰμὶ ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν, οὐχ ὡς ὁ ἀνακείμενος, ἀλλ' Ὡς ὁ διακονῶν; κατηξίωσας γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς διακονῆσαι ἡμῖν τὴν σὴν πνευματικὴν εὐφροσύνην, καὶ τοῖς τιμίοις ἑαυτοῦ γράμμασιν ἀναλαβεῖν

[1] ἰνοκεντίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ῥώμης C, D, E.

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[1] Psal. 26. 8. [2] Psal. 112. 6.

which you pay us in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. We were very much pleased to hear that you, assuming a charge befitting a Christian, had raised a house to the glory of the name of Christ, and truly loved, as it is written, "the beauty of the house of the Lord"[1] preparing for yourself that heavenly mansion which is provided in His peace for those who love the name of Christ. If we can discover any relics of martyrs, we beg leave to join you in your endeavour. For if "the just shall be had in everlasting remembrance,"[2] we shall certainly share in the blessed memory which will accrue to you from the saint.

LETTER L

To Bishop Innocentius[3]

Whom would it better befit to instil courage into cowards and to arouse the sleeping than you, our godly lord, who have shown your perfect excellence in this also, that you have consented to come down to lowly men like us, as a true disciple of Him who said, "I am in the midst of you," not as he that sits at table, but "as he that serveth"?[4] For you have deigned yourself to serve us a portion of your spiritual joy, to refresh our souls by your precious

[3] Written at the beginning of the episcopate. The identity of this bishop is uncertain. The common addition to the title of "of Rome" is an error, since Damasus, not Innocent, was Bishop of Rome at this time. J. Wittig (Studien zur Geschichte des Papstes Innocenz I und der Papstwahlen des 5 Iahrhunderts: *Theol. Quartalschrift* 84, 1902, 388–439), says that this letter belongs to St. John Chrysostom, and is addressed to Pope Innocent I.

[4] Luke 22. 27.

ἡμῶν τὰς ψυχάς, καὶ ὥσπερ παίδων νηπιότητα τῷ ἑαυτοῦ μεγέθει προσαγκαλίσασθαι.

Εὔχου οὖν (δεόμεθά σου τῆς ἀγαθῆς ψυχῆς) ἀξίους ἡμᾶς εἶναι καὶ ὑποδέχεσθαι τὰς παρὰ τῶν μεγάλων ὑμῶν ὠφελείας, καὶ λαμβάνειν στόμα καὶ σοφίαν εἰς τὸ τολμᾷν ἀντιφθέγγεσθαι ὑμῖν, τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἀγομένοις, οὗ φίλον σε εἶναι καὶ δοξαστῆρα ἀληθινὸν ἀκούοντες, μεγάλην ἐπὶ τῇ στεῤῥᾷ σου καὶ ἀκλινεῖ περὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἀγάπῃ τὴν χάριν ὁμολογοῦμεν· εὐχόμενοι μετὰ τῶν ἀληθινῶν προσκυνητῶν εὑρεθῆναι ἡμῶν τὸ μέρος, ἐν οἷς πεπείσμεθα εἶναι καὶ τὴν σὴν τελειότητα, καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἀληθινοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην τοῦ ἰδίου πληρώσαντος θαύματος, τοῦ Κυρίου δεόμεθα.

LI

Βοσπορίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ[1]

Πῶς μου οἴει τὴν ψυχὴν ὠδύνησεν ἡ ἀκοὴ τῆς συκοφαντίας ἐκείνης, ἣν κατέχεόν[2] μού τινες τῶν μὴ φοβουμένων τὸν κριτήν, ὃς ἀπολεῖ πάντας τοὺς λαλοῦντας τὸ ψεῦδος; ὥστε πᾶσαν τὴν νύκτα ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥήμασι τῆς ἀγάπης σου, ὀλίγου δεῖν, ἄϋπνος[3] διαμεῖναι· οὕτω μέσης ἥψατό μου

[1] Βοσπορίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ κατὰ συκοφάντων C, D.
[2] κατέχεαν A, C, D, F (corr. to κατέχεαν).
[3] ἄϋπνον A, C, D, E.

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[1] The identity of this bishop is unknown.

letter, and to embrace us, like infant children, with your own greatness.

Therefore pray—we beg your good soul—that we may be worthy both to receive the assistance proffered by your strength, and to obtain lips and wisdom to dare make answer to you, who are guided by the Holy Spirit; and hearing that you are His friend and true glorifier, we confess a deep gratification for your firm and unwavering love of God. Praying that our lot may be found among the true worshippers, where we are persuaded your Excellency also is, as well as with that great and true bishop [1] who has filled the whole world with admiration for himself, we offer our petitions to the Lord.

LETTER LI

To Bishop Bosporius [2]

Can you not imagine how my soul was pained on hearing of the calumny heaped upon me by certain ones who have no fear of the Judge who will "destroy all that speak a lie"? [3] During almost the entire night, after receiving your words of love, I lay sleepless; so did grief take hold of my

[2] Written at the beginning of the episcopacy (about 370). Bosporius was Bishop of Colonia in Cappadocia Secunda, and a close friend of Basil and Gregory Nazianzenus. The occasion of this letter was a slanderous report that Basil had anathematized Dianius, a friend and bishop, who had subscribed to the creed of Ariminum.

[3] Psal. 5. 6.

τῆς καρδίας ἡ λύπη. ὄντως γάρ, κατὰ τὸν Σολομῶντα, Συκοφαντία ἄνδρα ταπεινοῖ· καὶ οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἀνάλγητος, ὡς μὴ παθεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ κατακαμφθῆναι εἰς γῆν, στόμασιν πρὸς[1] ψευδολογίαν εὐκόλοις παραπεσών.[2] ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀνάγκη πάντα στέγειν, πάντα ὑπομένειν, τὴν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν ἐκδίκησιν ἐπιτρέψαντες[3] τῷ Κυρίῳ, ὃς οὐ περιόψεται[4] ἡμᾶς· διότι Ὁ συκοφαντῶν πένητα παροξύνει τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτόν. οἱ μέντοι τὸ καινὸν τοῦτο δρᾶμα τῆς καθ' ἡμῶν βλασφημίας συνθέντες ἐοίκασι παντελῶς ἀπιστεῖν τῷ Κυρίῳ, ὃς καὶ περὶ ἀργοῦ ῥήματος δώσειν ἡμᾶς λόγον ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως ἀπεφήνατο.

Ἐγὼ δέ, εἰπέ μοι, τὸν μακαριώτατον Διάνιον ἀνεθεμάτισα; τοῦτο γὰρ ἡμῶν κατήγγειλαν.[5] ποῦ ἢ πότε; τίνων παρόντων; ἐπὶ ποίᾳ προφάσει;[6] ψιλοῖς ῥήμασιν ἢ ἐγγράφοις; ἑτέροις ἀκολουθῶν, ἢ αὐτὸς κατάρχων καὶ αὐθεντῶν τοῦ τολμήματος; ὢ τῆς ἀναιδείας τῶν πάντα φθεγγομένων ῥᾳδίως· ὢ τῆς καταφρονήσεως τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ κριμάτων· πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἄρα τῷ πλάσματι αὐτῶν[7] καὶ τοῦτο προστραγῳδήσουσιν,[8] ὅτι ἐγενόμην καὶ ἔκφρων ποτέ, ὥστε ἀγνοεῖν αὐτὸς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ῥήματα. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν λογισμῶν ὑπάρχων τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ, οὐδὲν οἶδα ποιήσας τοιοῦτον, οὐδὲ προελόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον

[1] εἰς A, C, D. [2] περιπεσών C, D.
[3] ἐπιτρέψαντας A; ἐπιρίψαντας C, D, E; ἐπιτρέψαντας fr. ἐπιρίψαντας F.
[4] οὐ περιόψεται . . . ἀπιστεῖν τῷ Κυρίῳ om. C, D.
[5] κατήνεγκαν C, D.
[6] ποίᾳ προφάσει fr. ποίας προφάσεως alia m. F.
[7] ἑαυτῶν E, F. [8] προστραγῳδήσωσιν A.

innermost heart. For in truth, as Solomon[1] says, "Calumny humbleth a man," and no one is so insensible to pain that his soul is not bowed down to the earth with suffering, when he falls in with lips that are prone to falsehood. But I must be proof against all things, endure all things, committing my vindication to the Lord, who will not overlook us; for "He that oppresseth the poor, upbraideth his Maker."[2] They, however, who fabricated this new tale of blasphemy against me seem to disbelieve entirely in the Lord, who declared[3] that we must give an account on the day of judgment even for our idle speech.

Tell me, did I anathematize the most blessed Dianius? For this is the charge they made against us. Where or when? In whose presence? On what pretext? Was it in bare words or in writing? Was I merely quoting others, or myself originating and directing the bold deed? Oh, the shamelessness of those who are ever ready to say anything! Oh, the disdain for God's judgments! Unless indeed they add to their fabrications this clap-trap also, that I was once so out of mind that I did not know what I said. For while in my right senses, I am sure that I did nothing of the kind, or even had such an intention in the first place. On

[1] Cf. Eccles. 7. 7. ὅτι ἡ συκοφαντία περιφέρει σοφὸν καὶ ἀπόλλυσι τὴν καρδίαν εὐγενείας αὐτοῦ. "Oppression troubleth the wise, and shall destroy the strength of his heart."

[2] Prov. 14. 31.

[3] Cf. Matt. 12. 36. λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν, ὅτι πᾶν ῥῆμα ἀργόν, ὃ ἐὰν λαλήσωσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἀποδώσουσι περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως. "But I say unto you, that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall render an account for it in the day of judgment."

ἐμαυτῷ συνεπίσταμαι, ὅτι ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας συνετράφην τῷ περὶ αὐτὸν φίλτρῳ, καὶ ἀπέβλεπον πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ὡς μὲν γεραρὸς ἰδεῖν, ὡς δὲ μεγαλοπρεπής, ὅσον δὲ ἔχων τὸ ἱεροπρεπὲς ἐν τῷ εἴδει. ἐπεὶ δέ μοι λοιπὸν καὶ ὁ λόγος παρῆν, τότε δὴ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγαθῶν αὐτὸν ἐπεγίνωσκον· καὶ ἔχαιρον αὐτοῦ τῇ συνουσίᾳ, τὸ ἁπλοῦν καὶ γενναῖον καὶ ἐλευθέριον[1] *τῶν τρόπων καταμανθάνων, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα*[2] *τοῦ ἀνδρὸς*[3] *ἴδια, ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμερότης, τὸ μεγαλοφυές τε ὁμοῦ καὶ πρᾶον, τὸ εὐπρεπές, τὸ ἀόργητον, τὸ φαιδρὸν καὶ εὐπρόσιτον τῇ σεμνότητι κεκραμένον. ὥστε αὐτὸν ἐναρίθμιον εἶχον τοῖς περιφανεστάτοις κατ᾽ ἀρετήν.*

Περὶ[4] *μέντοι τὰ τελευταῖα τοῦ βίου (οὐ γὰρ ἀποκρύψομαι τἀληθές) ἐλυπήθην*[5] *ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ λύπην οὐκ ἀνεκτὴν μετὰ πολλῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι φοβουμένων τὸν* Κύριον, *ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπογραφῇ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ* Γεώργιον[6] *ἀπὸ τῆς* Κωνσταντινουπόλεως *κομισθείσης. εἶτα, οἷος ἐκεῖνος πραότητι τρόπου καὶ ἐπιεικείᾳ πάντας πληροφορεῖν ἐν σπλάγχνοις πατρικοῖς ἀνεχόμενος, ἤδη καταπεσὼν εἰς τὴν ἀῤῥωστίαν, ὑφ᾽ ἧς καὶ μετῆλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου, προσκαλεσάμενος ἡμᾶς ἔφη· ὑπὸ μάρτυρι τῷ* Κυρίῳ *ἐν ἁπλότητι*

[1] ἐλεύθερον C, D.
[2] ἦν add. A, C, D.
[3] ἦν add. F.
[4] Περὶ] μὴ C, D.
[5] ἐλυπήθημεν A, C, D.
[6] Γεώργινον C, D.

the other hand, I am conscious of this, that from my earliest youth I was brought up with a love for Dianius, and I used to look up to the man as majestic in appearance, magnificent, and possessing great sanctity of aspect. And when I reached the age of reason, then indeed I recognized him for what he was from his spiritual virtues; and I rejoiced in his company, coming to learn the simplicity, nobility, and generosity of his character, and all the other qualities peculiar to the man—his gentleness of soul, his lofty spirit combined with mildness, his decorum, his control of temper, and his cheerfulness and affability mingled with dignity. For all this I counted him among the most illustrious in virtue.

However, at the end of his life (for I will not conceal the truth), I, together with many God-fearing people of our fatherland,[1] suffered intolerable grief on his account, for he subscribed to the creed brought from Constantinople by George and his associates.[2] Later, so willing was he in his fatherly heart, by reason of the mildness and reasonableness of his character, to reassure all men, when he had already fallen into the sickness which caused his death, he summoned us and said, that with the Lord as his witness he had agreed to the pact from

[1] Apparently Caesarea is meant here by πατρίς. Cf. Letter VIII.

[2] The Homoean creed of Ariminum revised at Nica and accepted in 360 at the Acacian Synod of Constantinople. Cf. Introd. p. xxix. "George is presumably the George, Bishop of Laodicea, who at Seleucia opposed the Acacians, but appears afterwards to have become reconciled to that party, and to have joined them in persecuting the Catholics of Constantinople."—Jackson. Cf. Letter CCLI.

καρδίας συντεθεῖσθαι μὲν τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως γραμματείῳ,[1] μηδὲν δὲ ἐπ' ἀθετήσει τῆς κατὰ Νικαίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἐκτεθείσης πίστεως προελέσθαι, μηδὲ ἄλλως ἔχειν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἢ ὡς παρέλαβεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς· ἀλλὰ καὶ εὔχεσθαι μὴ χωρισθῆναι τῆς μερίδος τῶν μακαρίων ἐκείνων ἐπισκόπων τῶν[2] τριακοσίων δεκαοκτώ,[3] τῶν τὸ εὐσεβὲς κήρυγμα διαγγειλάντων τῇ οἰκουμένῃ· ὥστε ἡμᾶς, ἐπὶ τῇ πληροφορίᾳ ταύτῃ,[4] λύσαντας πᾶσαν τῶν καρδιῶν τὴν διάκρισιν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίστασαι,[5] προσελθεῖν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ, καὶ λυπουμένους παύσασθαι.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἡμέτερα πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τοιαῦτα. εἰ δέ τις λέγοι τινὰ βλασφημίαν ἀθέμιτον[6] εἰς αὐτὸν ἡμῖν συνεγνωκέναι, μὴ κατὰ γωνίαν θρυλλείτω δουλοπρεπῶς, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ φανερὸν ἀντικαταστὰς διελεγχέτω μετὰ παρρησίας.

LII

Κανονικαῖς.[7]

Ὅσον ἠνίασεν ἡμᾶς πρότερον φήμη λυπηρὰ τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν περιηχήσασα, τοσοῦτον εὔφρανεν ἡμᾶς ὁ θεοφιλέστατος ἐπίσκοπος ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν Βοσπόριος, τὰ χρηστότερα περὶ[8] τῆς εὐλαβείας

[1] γραμματίῳ A. [2] τῶν om. C, D.
[3] δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ C, D, F. [4] ἐπὶ . . . ταύτῃ om. C, D.
[5] ὡς καὶ . . . ἐπίστασαι om. A, B, C.
[6] ἀθέμιτον om. C, D.
[7] Κανονικαῖς περὶ τοῦ ὁμοούσιον εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τῷ πατρί E, F.
[8] περὶ om. A, B, C, D.

Constantinople in the simplicity of his heart, but that in no way had he been inclined to reject the faith as set forth by the holy fathers at Nicaea,[1] nor was he at heart any different from what he had been in the beginning when he had accepted it; nay, he added, he even prayed not to be separated from the party of those blessed bishops, the three hundred and eighteen, who announced that pious doctrine to the world. We, accordingly, on this reassurance, freed our heart of all condemnation, and, as you yourself know, entered into fellowship with him, and ceased to be offended.

Such were our relations with Dianius. And if anyone says that he is privy to any lawless blasphemy on our part against Dianius, let him not prattle in a corner like a slave, but let him take his stand in the open and refute me freely.

LETTER LII

To the Canonicae.[2]

The great vexation caused me by a painful report which resounded in my ears is balanced by the great pleasure which the bishop, dearly beloved of God, my brother Bosporius,[3] gave us when he related

[1] For the Council of Nicaea, cf. Introd. p. xxv.

[2] Written at the beginning of the episcopate, about 370. Canonicae were women of the early Church enrolled to devote themselves to works of charity. Although not under vows, they lived apart from men, usually in coenobium. Cf. Letter CCLXXXVIII, where Basil is supposed to refuse to consider marriage with them as legitimate. There were also Canonici; but marriage was commonly permitted to them.

[3] Cf. Letter LI.

ὑμῶν διηγησάμενος. ἔφη γάρ, τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι, πάντα ἐκεῖνα τὰ θρυλληθέντα ἀνθρώπων εἶναι κατασκευάσματα οὐκ ἀκριβῶς τὴν καθ' ὑμᾶς ἐπισταμένων ἀλήθειαν. προσετίθει[1] δὲ ὅτι καὶ διαβολὰς εὗρε παρ' ὑμῖν καθ' ἡμῶν ἀνοσίας, καὶ τοιαύτας οἵας ἂν εἴποιεν οἱ μὴ ἐκδεχόμενοι καὶ περὶ ἀργοῦ ῥήματος δώσειν λόγον τῷ κριτῇ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἀνταποδόσεως αὐτοῦ τῇ δικαίᾳ.[2] ὥστε ηὐχαρίστησα τῷ Κυρίῳ αὐτός τε ἰαθεὶς τὴν ἐφ' ὑμῖν βλάβην, ἥν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκ συκοφαντίας ἀνθρώπων ἤμην παραδεξάμενος, ὑμᾶς τε ἀκούσας ἀποτεθεῖσθαι τὰς ψευδεῖς περὶ ἡμῶν ὑπολήψεις, ἐξ ὧν ἠκούσατε τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν διαβεβαιωσαμένου.[3]

Ὃς ἐν οἷς τὸ[4] καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑμῖν παρέστησε, συναπέδειξε πάντως καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον. ἓν γὰρ ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν τὸ τῆς πίστεως φρόνημα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πατέρων κληρονόμοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Νικαίαν ποτὲ τὸ μέγα τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐξαγγειλάντων κήρυγμα· οὗ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παντάπασίν[5] ἐστιν ἀσυκοφάντητα, τὴν δὲ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου φωνήν, κακῶς παρά τινων ἐκληφθεῖσαν, εἰσί τινες οἱ μήπω παραδεξάμενοι· οὓς καὶ μέμψαιτο ἄν τις δικαίως, καὶ πάλιν μέντοι συγγνώμης αὐτοὺς ἀξιώσειεν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πατράσι μὴ ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων φωνὴν κυριωτέραν τίθεσθαι τῆς ἑαυτῶν γνώμης, ἐγκλήματος ἄξιον ὡς[6] αὐθαδείας γέμον, τὸ δὲ πάλιν ὑφ' ἑτέρων διαβληθεῖσαν

[1] προσεπετίθει A, B, F. [2] τῆς δικαίας A, B, C, D, F.
[3] βεβαιωσαμένου A, B, C, D. [4] τὰ E, F.
[5] παντάπασίν] πάντα μαθεῖν C, D. [6] καὶ E.

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[1] Cf. Matt. 12. 36. See Letter LI, p. 323, note 3.

happier things about your religious life. For he said—thanks be to God—that all those stories which were noised abroad were fabrications of men not accurately aware of the truth concerning you. He said further that he found current amongst you unholy calumnies against us, such calumnies as might come from men who do not expect on the day of righteous retribution to render an account to the Judge even for their idle speech.[1] I therefore gave thanks to the Lord, both that I myself have been healed of the injurious charges against you—which, as it seems, I had accepted from slanderous men—and that you, as I hear, have laid aside those false notions about me, on the strength of the assurance you have received from my brother.

The opinions which Bosporius has on his own account set forth accord completely with my own. For we both have the same conception of the faith, inasmuch as we are heirs of the same Fathers, those who at Nicaea once gave out that great proclamation of our religion. This has in all other respects been wholly free from slanderous detraction; but the term "sameness of substance" ("homoousion"),[2] which has been grudgingly received by some, has as yet not been accepted at all by others. These one might justly blame, but, on the other hand, one might consider them deserving of pardon. For while their refusal to follow the Fathers, and to count their declaration less authoritative than their own opinion, calls for censure as teeming with arrogance, yet, on the other hand, their regarding with suspicion a doctrine with which others have

[2] Cf. Introd. p. xxv.

αὐτὴν ὕποπτον ἔχειν, τοῦτό[1] πως δοκεῖ τοῦ ἐγκλήματος αὐτοὺς μετρίως ἐλευθεροῦν. καὶ γὰρ τῷ ὄντι οἱ ἐπὶ Παύλῳ τῷ Σαμοσατεῖ συνελθόντες διέβαλον τὴν λέξιν ὡς οὐκ εὔσημον.[2] ἔφασαν γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τὴν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου φωνὴν παριστᾷν ἔννοιαν οὐσίας τε καὶ τῶν ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ὥστε καταμερισθεῖσαν τὴν οὐσίαν παρέχειν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου τὴν προσηγορίαν τοῖς εἰς ἃ διηρέθη. τοῦτο δὲ ἐπὶ χαλκοῦ μὲν καὶ τῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ νομισμάτων ἔχει[3] τινὰ λόγον τὸ διανόημα· ἐπὶ δὲ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ Θεοῦ Υἱοῦ οὐκ οὐσία πρεσβυτέρα οὐδ' ὑπερκειμένη ἀμφοῖν θεωρεῖται· ἀσεβείας γὰρ ἐπέκεινα τοῦτο καὶ νοῆσαι καὶ φθέγξασθαι. τί γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο τοῦ ἀγεννήτου πρεσβύτερον; ἀναιρεῖται δὲ ἐκ τῆς βλασφημίας ταύτης καὶ ἡ εἰς τὸν Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν πίστις· ἀδελφὰ γὰρ ἀλλήλοις τὰ ἐξ ἑνὸς ὑφεστῶτα.

Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων εἰς τὸ εἶναι παρῆχθαι τὸν Υἱὸν ἔτι τότε ἦσαν οἱ λέγοντες, ἵνα καὶ ταύτην ἐκτέμωσι τὴν ἀσέβειαν τὸ ὁμοούσιον προσειρήκασιν. ἄχρονος γὰρ καὶ ἀδιάστατος ἡ τοῦ Υἱοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα συνάφεια. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ προλαβόντα ῥήματα ταύτην εἶναι τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν διάνοιαν. εἰπόντες γὰρ φῶς ἐκ φωτός, καὶ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν γεγενῆσθαι,[4]

[1] δὲ add. B, F; δὴ add. A, C, D.

[2] εὔσημον MSS.; εὔηχον ("well-sounding"; *i.e.*, "as not being a happy term") editi.

[3] ἔχειν C, D.

[4] γεγεννῆσθαι D.

found fault does somehow seem to free them from a portion of the blame. For in truth those who convened to pass upon the case of Paul of Samosata [1] found fault with the word as not being clear. They declared that the word "homoousion" suggests the idea both of substance and its derivatives, so that the substance which has been divided gives the attribute of "likeness of substance" to the parts into which it has been divided. This idea, when applied, for example, to bronze and to the coins made from it, has a certain amount of reason in it; but when "substance" is used with reference to God the Father and God the Son, it is not considered as anterior, nor yet as underlying both; for either to think or to express any such idea is worse than sacrilege. For what could be older than the Unbegotten? By this blasphemy, faith in both Father and Son is destroyed; for things which derive their existence from the same thing are brothers to one another.[2]

And since even then there were those who said that the Son was brought into being out of the non-existent, to cut off this impiety also, the term "likeness of substance" ("homoousion") was added. For the union of the Son with the Father has to do with neither time nor space. And indeed the preceding words show this to have been the intention of these men. For after saying that the Son was light from light, and was born, though not created, from the substance of the Father, they then

[1] The two Antiochene synods of A.D. 264 and 269, to enforce whose decisions against Paul of Samosata recourse was had to the pagan Aurelian.

[2] A *reductio ad absurdum*. The doctrine of "Likeness of Substance" was devised to get rid of this very thing.

οὐχὶ δὲ πεποιῆσθαι, ἐπήγαγον τούτοις τὸ ὁμοούσιον, παραδεικνύντες ὅτι ὅνπερ ἂν τις ἀποδῷ φωτὸς λόγον ἐπὶ Πατρός, οὗτος ἁρμόσει[1] *καὶ ἐπὶ Υἱοῦ. φῶς γὰρ ἀληθινὸν πρὸς φῶς ἀληθινόν, κατ' αὐτὴν τοῦ φωτὸς τὴν ἔννοιαν, οὐδεμίαν ἕξει παραλλαγήν. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐστιν ἄναρχον φῶς ὁ Πατήρ, γεννητὸν δὲ φῶς ὁ Υἱός, φῶς δὲ καὶ φῶς ἑκάτερος,*[2] *ὁμοούσιον εἶπαν*[3] *δικαίως, ἵνα τὸ τῆς φύσεως ὁμότιμον παραστήσωσιν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἀδελφὰ ἀλλήλοις ὁμοούσια λέγεται, ὅπερ τινὲς ὑπειλήφασιν· ἀλλ' ὅταν καὶ τὸ αἴτιον καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ αἰτίου τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχον τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπάρχῃ φύσεως, ὁμοούσια λέγεται.*

Αὕτη δὲ ἡ φωνὴ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σαβελλίου κακὸν ἐπανορθοῦται· ἀναιρεῖ γὰρ τὴν ταυτότητα τῆς ὑποστάσεως καὶ εἰσάγει τελείαν τῶν προσώπων τὴν ἔννοιαν. οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸ τί ἐστιν ἑαυτῷ ὁμοούσιον, ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἑτέρῳ· ὥστε καλῶς ἔχει καὶ εὐσεβῶς, τῶν τε ὑποστάσεων τὴν ἰδιότητα διορίζουσα καὶ τῆς φύσεως τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον παριστῶσα.

Ὅταν δὲ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν εἶναι διδασκώμεθα, καὶ γεννηθέντα, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ποιηθέντα, μὴ καταπίπτωμεν ἐπὶ τὰς σωματικὰς τῶν παθῶν ἐννοίας. οὐ γὰρ ἐμερίσθη ἡ οὐσία ἀπὸ Πατρὸς εἰς Υἱόν, οὐδὲ ῥυεῖσα ἐγέννησεν, οὐδὲ προβαλοῦσα, ὡς τὰ φυτὰ τοὺς καρπούς, ἀλλ' ἄῤῥητος καὶ ἀνεπινόητος λογισμοῖς ἀνθρώπων τῆς

[1] *ἁρμώσει* F. [2] *ἑκάτερον* E. [3] *εἶποιεν ἂν* E.

[1] Cf. p. 95, note 3.

[2] Cf. Luke 21. 30. *ὅταν προβάλωσιν ἤδη, . . . γινώσκετε ὅτι ἤδη ἐγγὺς τὸ θέρος ἐστίν.* "When they now shoot forth their fruit, you know that summer is nigh."

brought in also the doctrine of "likeness of substance," thus intimating that whatever idea of light is attributed to the Father, this will equally apply to the Son also. For true light in relation to true light, by the very conception we have of light, will have no variation. Since, therefore, the Father is light without beginning, and the Son is begotten light, yet one is light and the other is light, they rightly declared them "alike in substance," that they might set forth the equal dignity of their nature. For things which are brothers to one another cannot be called "alike in substance," as some have supposed; on the contrary, when both the cause and that which has its origin from that cause are of the same nature, then they are called "alike in substance."

This term also sets aright the error of Sabellius [1]; for it does away with the identity of person ("hypostasis"), and introduces a perfect notion of the persons of the Godhead. For nothing is itself of like substance with itself, but one thing is of like substance with another thing; consequently, the term is a good one, and consistent with piety, differentiating as it does the individuality of the Persons, and at the same time setting forth the invariability of their nature.

But when we learn that the Son is from the substance of the Father, and begotten though not created, let us not fall into the corporeal conception of the process. For the substance in the Father was not divided to form the Son, nor did it engender by fluxion, or by putting forth shoots,[2] as plants put forth their fruits; on the contrary, the method of divine generation is ineffable and inconceivable to

θείας γεννήσεως ὁ τρόπος. ταπεινῆς γὰρ τῷ ὄντι καὶ σαρκίνης ἐστὶ διανοίας, τοῖς φθαρτοῖς καὶ προσκαίροις ἀφομοιοῦν τὰ ἀΐδια, καὶ οἴεσθαι ὅτι, ὡς τὰ σωματικά, οὕτω γεννᾷ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὁμοίως· δέον ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων λαμβάνειν τὰς ἀφορμὰς πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ὅτι,[1] ἐπειδὴ τὰ θνητὰ οὕτως, ὁ ἀθάνατος οὐχ οὕτως. οὔτε οὖν ἀρνεῖσθαι δεῖ τὴν θείαν γέννησιν, οὔτε σωματικαῖς ἐννοίαις καταῤῥυποῦν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν.

Τὸ *δὲ* Πνεῦμα *τὸ ἅγιον* Πατρὶ *μὲν καὶ* Υἱῷ *συναριθμεῖται, διότι καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν κτίσιν ἐστί· τέτακται δὲ ὡς ἐν εὐαγγελίῳ δεδιδάγμεθα παρὰ τοῦ* Κυρίου *εἰπόντος·* Πορευθέντες *βαπτίζετε*[2] *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ* Πατρὸς *καὶ τοῦ* Υἱοῦ *καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου* Πνεύματος. *ὁ δὲ προτιθεὶς*[3] Υἱοῦ, *ἢ πρεσβύτερον*[4] *λέγων* Πατρός, *οὗτος*[5] *ἀνθίσταται μὲν τῇ τοῦ* Θεοῦ *διαταγῇ, ἀλλότριος δὲ τῆς ὑγιαινούσης πίστεως, μὴ ὃν παρέλαβε τρόπον δοξολογίας φυλάττων, ἀλλ' ἑαυτῷ καινοφωνίαν*[6] *εἰς ἀρέσκειαν ἀνθρώπων ἐπινοῶν. εἰ γὰρ ἀνώτερον* Θεοῦ, *οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ* Θεοῦ. *γέγραπται γάρ·*[7] Τὸ *δὲ* Πνεῦμα *ἐκ τοῦ* Θεοῦ. *εἰ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ* Θεοῦ, *πῶς πρεσβύτερόν ἐστι τοῦ ἐξ οὗ ἐστί; τίς δὲ καὶ ἡ παράνοια, ἑνὸς ὄντος τοῦ ἀγεννήτου, ἄλλο τι λέγειν τοῦ ἀγεννήτου ἀνώτερον; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦ*

[1] *ὅτι* om. E.
[2] *βαπτίζεται* F.
[3] *προθεὶς* A, B; *προτιθεὶς τοῦ* F.
[4] *εἶναι* add. A, B, F alia m.
[5] *οὕτως* E.
[6] *κενοφωνίαν* A, B, C, F.
[7] *γάρ* om. A, B.

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[1] Cf. Matt. 28. 19. *πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ* Πατρὸς *καὶ τοῦ* Υἱοῦ *καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου* Πνεύματος. "Going therefore, teach ye all the

the human mind. Indeed, it is a truly low and fleshly mind which likens invisible things to those perishable and temporal, and believes that just as corporeal things beget, so too does God in like manner; but piety demands that we proceed on the principle of opposites, and reason that, since mortal things do thus, the immortal being does otherwise. Therefore we should neither deny the divine generation, nor with corporeal conceptions defile our minds.

The Holy Spirit is reckoned along with the Father and Son, wherefore He also is above creation; and the place assigned to Him is in accordance with the doctrine which we have derived from the words of the Lord[1] in the Gospel: "Going baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." But he who puts the Holy Spirit before the Son, or declares Him to be older than the Father, sets himself in opposition to God's commandment, and is a stranger to the sound faith, since he does not preserve the traditional form of the Doxology, but invents for himself a new-fangled expression for the satisfaction of men. For if the Spirit is anterior to God, He is not from God. For it is written, "The Spirit of God."[2] And if it is of God, how can it be older than He of whom it is? And what folly it is, when the Unbegotten is one, to speak of something else as anterior to the Unbegotten! Nay, it is not prior to

nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

[2] Cf. 1 Cor. 2. 12. *ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ κόσμου ἐλάβομεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἵνα εἰδῶμεν τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ χαρισθέντα ἡμῖν.* "Now we have received not the spirit of this world, but the Spirit that is of God; that we may know the things that are given us from God."

Μονογενοῦς πρότερον· οὐδὲν γὰρ μέσον Υἱοῦ καὶ Πατρός. εἰ δὲ μή ἐστιν ἐκ Θεοῦ, διὰ Χριστοῦ δέ ἐστιν, οὐδέ ἐστι τὸ παράπαν. ὥστε ἡ περὶ τὴν τάξιν καινοτομία αὐτῆς τῆς ὑπάρξεως ἀθέτησιν ἔχει, καὶ ὅλης τῆς πίστεώς ἐστιν ἄρνησις. ὁμοίως οὖν ἐστιν ἀσεβὲς καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κτίσιν καταγαγεῖν[1] *καὶ ὑπερτιθέναι αὐτὸ ἢ*[2] *Υἱοῦ ἢ Πατρός, ἢ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἢ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν.*

Ἃ μὲν οὖν ἤκουσα ἐπιζητεῖσθαι παρὰ τῆς εὐλαβείας ὑμῶν, ταῦτά ἐστιν· ἐὰν δὲ δῷ ὁ Κύριος καὶ εἰς ταὐτὸν ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλοις γενέσθαι, τάχα ἄν τι καὶ περὶ τούτων πλέον εἴποιμεν, καὶ αὐτοὶ δ' ἂν περὶ ὧν ἐπιζητοῦμεν εὕροιμέν[3] *τινα παρ' ὑμῶν πληροφορίαν.*

LIII

Χωρεπισκόποις.[4]

Τὸ τοῦ *πράγματος ἄτοπον περὶ οὗ γράφω, διότι*[5] *μὲν ὅλως ὑπωπτεύθη καὶ ἐλαλήθη, ὀδύνης ἐπλήρωσέ μου τὴν ψυχήν· τέως δὲ ἐφάνη μοι ἄπιστον. τὸ οὖν*[6] *περὶ αὐτοῦ γράμμα ὁ μὲν*

[1] *κατάγειν* E, F. [2] *αὐτὸ ἢ*] *αὐτὸ* A, B; *αὐτοῦ* C, D.
[3] *εὕρωμεν* C, D.
[4] *πρὸς τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπισκόπους, ὥστε μὴ χειροτονεῖν ἐπὶ χρήμασιν* A, B, C, D.
[5] *διάτι* A, B, C, D, E, F. [6] *γοῦν* E.

the Only-begotten either[1]; for there is no space between Son and Father. And if the Spirit is not of God, but is through Christ, He does not exist at all. Consequently, any innovation in the position of the Holy Spirit involves the abolition of His very existence, and is equivalent to a denial of the whole faith. It is therefore in like manner impious either to degrade Him to the position of a creature, or to raise Him above either Son or Father in either time or position.

These are the matters into which I have heard that your pious souls are making inquiry; and if the Lord grants that we shall meet one another, I may have somewhat more to say on these questions, and I myself may obtain light from you on the subjects of my own inquiries.

LETTER LIII

To the Chorepiscopi[2]

The enormity of the matter about which I write (wherefore it is generally suspected and discussed) has filled my soul with grief; yet hitherto the thing has seemed to me incredible. So let what I write

[1] Cf. Letter XXXVIII, p. 209, where Basil argues this point.

[2] Written at the beginning of the episcopate, about 370. The chorepiscopi were a grade of priests between the bishops themselves and the ordinary priests or presbyters, *i.e.* suffragan bishops. They were first appointed in the late third century in Asia Minor, in order to give more direct episcopal supervision to the remote parts of large dioceses. They are first mentioned in the Councils of Ancyra and Neo-Caesarea, A.D. 314.

συνεγνωκὼς ἑαυτῷ δεξάσθω ὡς ἴαμα, ὁ δὲ μὴ συνεγνωκὼς ὡς προφυλακτήριον,[1] ὁ δὲ ἀδιάφορος, ὅπερ ἀπεύχομαι ἐφ'[2] ὑμῖν εὑρεθῆναι, ὡς διαμαρτυρίαν.

Τί δέ ἐστιν ὃ λέγω; φασί[3] τινας ὑμῶν παρὰ τῶν χειροτονουμένων λαμβάνειν χρήματα, ἐπισκιάζειν δὲ ὀνόματι εὐσεβείας. τοῦτο δὲ χεῖρόν ἐστιν. ἐὰν γάρ τις τὸ κακὸν ἐν προσχήματι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ποιῇ, διπλασίονος τιμωρίας ἐστὶν ἄξιος, διότι αὐτό[4] τε τὸ οὐκ ἀγαθὸν ἐργάζεται, καὶ κέχρηται εἰς τὸ τελέσαι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, τῷ καλῷ[5] συνεργῷ. ταῦτα εἰ οὕτως ἔχει, τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ γινέσθω, ἀλλὰ διορθωθήτω· ἐπεὶ ἀνάγκη λέγειν πρὸς τὸν δεχόμενον τὸ ἀργύριον,[6] ὅπερ ἐῤῥήθη παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων πρὸς τὸν θέλοντα δοῦναι, ἵνα Πνεύματος ἁγίου μετουσίαν ὠνήσηται· Τὸ ἀργύριόν σου σὺν σοὶ εἴη εἰς ἀπώλειαν. κουφότερος γὰρ ὁ δι' ἀπειρίαν ὠνήσασθαι θέλων ἢ ὁ πιπράσκων τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ δωρεάν. πρᾶσις γὰρ ἐγένετο, καὶ ὃ σὺ δωρεὰν ἔλαβες, ἐὰν πωλῇς, ὡσανεὶ πεπραμένος τῷ σατανᾷ, ἀφαιρεθήσῃ τοῦ χαρίσματος. καπηλείαν γὰρ ἐπεισάγεις τοῖς πνευματικοῖς, καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἔνθα[7] πεπιστεύμεθα σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ. ταῦτα οὕτω γίνεσθαι οὐ[8] χρή. ὃ δέ ἐστι[9] τέχνασμα, λέγω· νομίζουσι μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν τῷ μὴ[10] προλαμβάνειν,[11] ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν λαμβάνειν.[12] λαβεῖν δὲ ἔστιν ὅτε δή ποτε τὸ λαβεῖν.

[1] φυλακτήριον E. [2] ἐν C, D.
[3] φασί τινας] φασί τινες τινὰς A, B, E, F. [4] αὐτός B.
[5] ἀγαθῷ E. [6] τὸ ἀργύριον om. A, B. [7] ἐὰν C, D, E.
[8] οὐ om. E. [9] τὸ add. A, B, C, D, F.
[10] ἅμα add. A, B. [11] προσλαμβάνειν B.

on the matter be received by any that has qualms of conscience as a medicine, by any that has no qualms as a precaution, and by any that is indifferent (I pray that none such may be found amongst you) as a solemn protest.

But what is it that I have in mind? The report is that some of you take money from candidates for ordination, and cover it up under the name of piety.[1] But that only makes the matter worse. For if anyone does an evil thing under the guise of good, he deserves a twofold punishment, because he not only does what is in itself not good, but also makes use of the good as a co-worker, so to speak, for the accomplishment of his sin. If this be true, let it not happen in future, but be corrected; for we must say to any who accepts this money what the Apostles said to the man who wanted to pay for participation in the Holy Spirit: "May thy money perish with thee."[2] For he who through ignorance wants to buy is less guilty than he who sells the gift of God. For the transaction has become a matter of business; and if you sell what you have received as a free gift, you will be deprived of all its grace, as if you yourself were sold to Satan. For you are bringing the huckster's traffic into spiritual affairs, and into the Church, where we are entrusted with the body and blood of Christ. These things must not be done in this way. I will tell you what the artifice is. They think that they commit no sin, because they receive the money after and not before the ordination. But to take is to take, whenever it happens.

[1] *i.e.* they call the contribution a proof of the giver's piety.
[2] Acts 8. 20.

[12] ἀλλὰ μετὰ . . . λαμβάνειν om. B.

Παρακαλῶ οὖν ταύτην τὴν πρόσοδον, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν προσαγωγὴν τὴν ἐπὶ γέενναν, ἀπόθεσθε·[1] *καὶ μὴ τὰς χεῖρας μολύναντες τοιούτοις λήμμασιν, ἑαυτοὺς ἀναξίους ποιήσητε τοῦ ἐπιτελεῖν ἁγνὰ*[2] *μυστήρια. σύγγνωτέ δέ μοι πρῶτον μὲν ὡς ἀπιστήσας,*[3] *εἶτα ὡς πεισθεὶς ἀπειλῶ. εἴ τις μετὰ ταύτην μου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πράξειέ τι*[4] *τοιοῦτον, τῶν μὲν ἐνταῦθα θυσιαστηρίων*[5] *ἀναχωρήσει,*[6] *ζητήσει δὲ ἔνθα τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ δωρεὰν ἀγοράζων μεταπωλεῖν δύναται. ἡμεῖς γὰρ καὶ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ Θεοῦ τοιαύτην συνήθειαν*[7] *οὐκ ἔχομεν.*

Ἓν δὲ προσθεὶς παύσομαι. διὰ φιλαργυρίαν γίνεται ταῦτα, ἡ δὲ φιλαργυρία καὶ ῥίζα πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἐστι, καὶ ὀνομάζεται εἰδωλολατρεία. μὴ οὖν πρὸ[8] *τοῦ Χριστοῦ τιμήσητε*[9] *τὰ εἴδωλα διὰ μικρὸν ἀργύριον· μηδὲ πάλιν τὸν Ἰούδαν μιμήσησθε, λήμματι παραδιδόντες*[10] *δεύτερον τὸν ἅπαξ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σταυρωθέντα. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ χωρία καὶ αἱ χεῖρες τῶν τοὺς καρποὺς τούτων δεχομένων Ἀκελδαμὰ κληθήσονται.*

1 *ἀποθέσθαι* A, B.
2 *ἅγια* A, B, C, D, F.
3 *παρακαλῶ* add. C, D.
4 *τι* om. E.
5 *μυστηρίων* E.
6 *ἀναχωρίσει* C.
7 *βοήθειαν* E.
8 *πρὸ* om. A, B, C, D, E.
9 *προτιμήσητε* A, B, C, D, E.
10 *προδιδόντες* A, B, C, D.

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1 Cf. 1 Cor. 11. 16. *εἰ δέ τις δοκεῖ φιλόνεικος εἶναι, ἡμεῖς τοιαύτην συνήθειαν οὐκ ἔχομεν, οὐδὲ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ Θεοῦ.* "But if any man seem to be contentious, we have no such custom, nor the churches of God."

Therefore, I beg you, abandon this way to revenue, or rather, this road to Hell. Do not pollute your hands with such earnings, and so make yourselves unworthy to perform the holy mysteries. But forgive me. I began as not believing; but now I threaten as though convinced. If, after this letter of mine, anyone do any such thing, he will withdraw from the altars of this diocese, and will seek a place where he may buy and sell the gift of God. "For we and the churches of God have no such custom."[1]

One word I will add, and then cease. These actions arise from covetousness; and covetousness is both the root of all evils and is called idolatry.[2] Therefore do not honour idols above Christ for petty gain, nor yet, on the other hand, imitate Judas, betraying for gain a second time Him who was once crucified for our sakes. For both the lands and the hands of those who accept the fruits of such things shall be called Haceldama.[3]

[2] Cf. Col. 3. 5. *νεκρώσατε οὖν τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, πορνείαν, ἀκαθαρσίαν, πάθος, ἐπιθυμίαν κακήν, καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ἥτις ἐστὶν εἰδωλολατρεία.* "Mortify therefore your members which are upon the earth; fornication, uncleanness, lust, evil concupiscence, and covetousness, which is the service of idols."

[3] Cf. Acts 1. 18–19. *οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἐκτήσατο χωρίον ἐκ τοῦ μισθοῦ τῆς ἀδικίας, καὶ πρηνὴς γενόμενος ἐλάκησε μέσος, καὶ ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ, καὶ γνωστὸν ἐγένετο πᾶσι τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἱερουσαλήμ, ὥστε κληθῆναι τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν Ἀκελδαμά, τουτέστι χωρίον αἵματος.* "And he (Judas) indeed hath possessed a field of the reward of iniquity, and being hanged, burst asunder in the midst; and all his bowels gushed out. And it became known to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem; so that the same field was called in their tongue, Haceldama, that is to say, The field of blood."

LIV

Χωρεπισκόποις.[1]

Πάνυ με λυπεῖ, ὅτι ἐπιλελοίπασι λοιπὸν οἱ τῶν πατέρων κανόνες, καὶ πᾶσα ἀκρίβεια τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀπελήλαται,[2] καὶ φοβοῦμαι[3] μὴ κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς ἀδιαφορίας ταύτης ὁδῷ προϊούσης εἰς παντελῆ σύγχυσιν ἔλθῃ τὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας πράγματα. τοὺς ὑπηρετοῦντας τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἡ πάλαι ταῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις ἐμπολιτευομένη συνήθεια μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας δοκιμάζουσα παρεδέχετο· καὶ ἐπολυπραγμονεῖτο πᾶσα αὐτῶν ἡ ἀναστροφή, εἰ μὴ λοίδοροί εἰσιν, εἰ μὴ μέθυσοι, εἰ μὴ πρόχειροι πρὸς τὰς μάχας, εἰ παιδαγωγοῦσιν ἑαυτῶν τὴν νεότητα, ὥστε κατορθοῦν δύνασθαι τὸν ἁγιασμόν, οὗ χωρὶς οὐδεὶς ὄψεται τὸν Κύριον. καὶ τοῦτο ἐξήταζον μὲν πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι οἱ συνοικοῦντες αὐτοῖς, ἐπανέφερον δὲ τοῖς χωρεπισκόποις, οἳ τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἀληθινῶς μαρ-

[1] χωρεπισκόποις ὥστε μὴ γίνεσθαι χωρὶς αὐτῶν ὑπηρέτας παρὰ τοὺς κανόνας A, B, C, D.
[2] ἀπελήλατο B.
[3] δέδοικα C, D.

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[1] Written in one of the early years of the episcopacy.

[2] The Greek Church acknowledges the following orders: bishops, priests, deacons, subdeacons, readers, acolytes, exorcists, and porters. Of these, the priesthood (including bishops) and diaconate alone are regarded as major orders, the subdiaconate being classed with the remainder as minor orders. This seems to have been true at least from the time of the Synod of Laodicea (about the middle of the fourth century).

LETTER LIV

To the Chorepiscopi [1]

It gives me great pain that the canons of the Fathers have lately fallen into neglect, and that all discipline has been banished from the churches. I fear that, as this indifference proceeds, the affairs of the Church will gradually come to complete ruin. The practice that has long been followed in God's churches was to accept subdeacons [2] for the service of the Church only after a very careful investigation. Their conduct was inquired into in every detail, to learn if they were not railers, or drunkards, or quick to quarrel, and whether they so controlled their youthful spirits as to be able to achieve that "holiness without which no man shall see God." [3] Now while this examination was conducted by priests and deacons living with the candidates, these would then refer the matter to the chorepiscopi, who, after receiving the votes of those who were in the strict

In the Latin Church the priesthood (including bishops), diaconate, and subdiaconate are the major or "sacred" orders, so called because they have immediate reference to what is consecrated. The subdiaconate is defined as "the power by which one ordained as a subdeacon may carry the chalice with wine to the altar, prepare the necessaries for the Eucharist, and read the Epistles before the people." It is interesting to note that Basil in this letter (see below) considers the subdiaconate as one of the sacred orders.

The earliest historical mention of the subdiaconate seems to be in the letter of Pope Cornelius (A.D. 255) to Fabius of Antioch, in which he states that there are among the Roman clergy forty-six priests, seven deacons, and seven subdeacons.

[3] Heb. 12. 14.

τυρούντων δεξάμενοι ψήφους, καὶ ὑπομνήσαντες τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, οὕτως ἐνηρίθμουν τὸν ὑπηρέτην τῷ τάγματι τῶν ἱερατικῶν.

Νῦν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἡμᾶς παρωσάμενοι, καὶ μηδὲ ἐπαναφέρειν ἡμῖν καταδεχόμενοι, εἰς ἑαυτοὺς τὴν ὅλην περιεστήσατε αὐθεντίαν. ἔπειτα καταρραθυμοῦντες τοῦ πράγματος, πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις ἐπετρέψατε, οὓς ἂν ἐθέλωσιν ἀπὸ ἀνεξετάστου βίου, κατὰ προσπάθειαν, ἢ τὴν ἀπὸ συγγενείας, ἢ τὴν ἐξ ἄλλης τινὸς φιλίας, ἐπεισάγειν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τοὺς ἀναξίους. διὸ πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπηρέται ἀριθμοῦνται καθ' ἑκάστην κώμην, ἄξιος δὲ λειτουργίας τοῦ[1] θυσιαστηρίου[2] οὐδὲ εἷς,[3] ὡς ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ μαρτυρεῖτε, ἀποροῦντες ἀνδρῶν ἐν ταῖς ψηφοφορίαις.

Ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁρῶ τὸ πρᾶγμα λοιπὸν εἰς ἀνήκεστον προϊόν, μάλιστα νῦν τῶν πλείστων, φόβῳ τῆς στρατολογίας, εἰσποιούντων ἑαυτοὺς τῇ ὑπηρεσίᾳ, ἀναγκαίως ἦλθον εἰς τὸ ἀνανεώσασθαι τοὺς τῶν πατέρων κανόνας· καὶ ἐπιστέλλω ὑμῖν ἀποστεῖλαί μοι τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ἑκάστης κώμης τῶν ὑπηρετούντων, καὶ ὑπὸ τίνος εἰσῆκται ἕκαστος, καὶ ἐν ποίῳ βίῳ ἐστίν. ἔχετε δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς τὴν ἀναγραφήν, ὥστε συγκρίνεσθαι τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν ἀποκειμένοις γράμμασι τὰ ὑμέτερα, καὶ μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι ἑαυτὸν ὅτε βούλεται παρεγγράφειν. οὕτω μέντοι μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐπινέμησιν

[1] *τοῦ* om. A, B, C, D. [2] *θυσιαστηρίων* C, D.
[3] *οὐδὲ εἷς*] *οὐδεὶς* A, B, C, D.

[1] Cf. p. 342, note 2. For an account of the testing of qualifications for orders, cf. St. Cyprian, Letter LXVIII.

sense of the word witnesses, and giving notice to their bishop, then enrolled the subdeacon as a member of the sacred orders.[1]

But now you, in the first place, thrusting me aside, and not even consenting to refer such matters to me, have arrogated to yourselves the entire authority. In the second place, becoming careless in the matter, you have allowed priests and deacons, selecting whomsoever they pleased, without examining into their lives, through motives of partiality based either upon kinship or upon some other friendly relationship, to introduce into the Church unworthy men. Consequently, though there are many numbered as subdeacons in every village, yet there is not one worthy to conduct the service at the altar,[2] as you yourselves testify, since you have difficulty in finding candidates at the elections.

Therefore, since I perceive that the situation is already approaching the incurable, especially now that vast numbers are forcing themselves into the subdiaconate through fear of the conscription, I have been compelled to resort to the renewal of the canons of the Fathers; and I bid you by this letter to send me the list of the subdeacons in each village, stating by whom each has been introduced, and what is his mode of life. Do you also keep the list in your own possession, so that your records may be compared with those deposited with me, and that no one may be able illegally to enter his own name at will. With this proviso, however, that if any of the names on the list have been introduced

[2] *i.e.* few if any of the subdeacons are worthy of being raised to the diaconate or to the priesthood.

εἴ τινες ὑπὸ πρεσβυτέρων εἰσήχθησαν, ἐπὶ τ
λαϊκοὺς ἀποῤῥιφῶσιν. ἄνωθεν δὲ γένηται αὐτ
παρ' ὑμῶν ἐξέτασις, κἂν μὲν ἄξιοι ὦσι, τῇ ὑμετέ
ψήφῳ παραδεχθήτωσαν. ἐπικαθαρίσατε[1] τ
Ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς ἀναξίους αὐτῆς ἀπελάσαντες,
καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐξετάζετε μὲν τοὺς ἀξίους κα
παραδέχεσθε, μὴ ἀριθμεῖτε δὲ πρὶν εἰς ἡμι
ἐπανενεγκεῖν·[3] ἢ γινώσκετε ὅτι λαϊκὸς ἔσται ο
ἄνευ ἡμετέρας γνώμης εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν παραδεχθείς.

LV

Παρηγορίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ.[4]

Ἐνέτυχόν σου τοῖς γράμμασι μετὰ πάσης μακροθυμίας, καὶ ἐθαύμασα πῶς δυνάμενος ἡμῖι συντόμως καὶ εὐκόλως ἀπολογήσασθαι διὰ τῶι πραγμάτων, τοῖς μὲν κατηγορουμένοις ἐπιμένειν καταδέχῃ, λόγοις δὲ μακροῖς θεραπεύειν ἐπιχειρεῖς τὰ ἀνίατα. οὔτε πρῶτοι, οὔτε μόνοι, Παρηγόριε,[5] ἐνομοθετήσαμεν γυναῖκας ἀνδράσι μὴ συνοικεῖν. ἀλλ' ἀνάγνωθι τὸν ἐξενεχθέντα κανόνα[6] παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ

[1] Ἐπεὶ καθαρίσατε C, D, F.

[2] ἀπελαύνοντες A, B, C, D. [3] ἀνενεγκεῖν C, D.

[4] Sic E, F (sed Γρηγορίῳ prima manu); Γρηγορίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ χωρισθῆναι τοῦ συνοίκου γυναίου A, B, C, D.

[5] ὦ Γρηγόριε A, B, C, D.

[6] τὸν ἐξενεχθέντα κανόνα] τὸν κανόνα τὸν ἐξενεχθέντα A, B, C, D.

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[1] The indictions were conventional periods of fifteen years, the first of which began in the reign of Constantine the

priests after the first year of the indiction,[1] these :sons are to be cast back among the laity. Let .em all be examined by you anew; and if they are orthy men, let them be accepted by your vote. urge the Church by excluding those who are unworthy of her, and henceforth examine and accept :nly worthy candidates; but do not enrol these nen before you have referred them to us. Otherwise rest assured that he who has been received into the subdiaconate without my approval will be still a layman.

LETTER LV

To Paregorius the Presbyter[2]

I have read your letter with all the patience at my command; and I am astonished that, when you might have made me briefly and without difficulty an apology by your actions, you choose to persist in the practices charged against you, and by lengthy arguments attempt to heal the incurable. I am neither the first nor the only one, Paregorius, to enact that women shall not live with men. Come, read the canon put forth by our holy Fathers of the Nicaean

Great. Unlike the Olympiads, the indictions themselves were not numbered, but only the number of the actual year in its indiction. Thus here μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐπινέμησιν = "after the first year of the indiction," not "after the first indiction."

The Greek, Constantinian, or Constantinopolitan Indictions were reckoned from September 1, 312, and were used chiefly in the East. The Imperial, Caesarian, or Western Indictions commenced with September 24, 312, and were used chiefly in the West.

[2] Written in the early part of the episcopate.

συνόδῳ Νικαίας, ὃς φανερῶς ἀπηγόρευσε συνεισάκτους μὴ εἶναι. ἀγαμία δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἔχει τὸ σεμνόν, ἐν τῷ κεχωρίσθαι τῆς μετὰ γυναικὸς[1] *διαγωγῆς. ὡς ἐὰν ἐπαγγελλόμενός τις τῷ ὀνόματι, ἔργῳ τὰ τῶν*[2] *γυναιξὶ συνοικούντων ποιῇ, δῆλός ἐστι τὸ μὲν τῆς παρθενίας σεμνὸν ἐν τῇ προσηγορίᾳ διώκων, τοῦ δὲ καθ' ἡδονὴν ἀπρεποῦς μὴ ἀφιστάμενος.*

Τοσούτῳ οὖν μᾶλλον ἐχρῆν σε εὐκόλως εἶξαι ἡμῶν τῇ ἀξιώσει, ὅσῳπερ λέγεις ἐλεύθερος εἶναι παντὸς σωματικοῦ πάθους. οὔτε γὰρ τὸν ἑβδομηκονταετῆ γεγονότα πείθομαι ἐμπαθῶς συνοικεῖν γυναικί, οὔτε ὡς ἐπιγενομένῃ τινὶ ἀτόπῳ πράξει ὡρίσαμεν ἃ[3] *ὡρίσαμεν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐδιδάχθημεν παρὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου μὴ τιθέναι πρόσκομμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἢ*[4] *σκάνδαλον. οἴδαμεν δὲ ὅτι τὸ παρά τινων ὑγιῶς γινόμενον, ἄλλοις ἀφορμὴ πρὸς ἁμαρτίαν ὑπάρχει.*[5] *τούτου ἕνεκεν προσετάξαμεν ἑπόμενοι τῇ διαταγῇ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων χωρισθῆναί σε τοῦ γυναίου.*

Τί οὖν ἐγκαλεῖς τῷ χωρεπισκόπῳ, καὶ παλαιᾶς ἔχθρας μέμνησαι; τί δὲ ἡμᾶς καταμέμφῃ ὡς εὐκόλους ἀκοὰς ἔχοντας εἰς τὸ[6] *τὰς διαβολὰς προσίεσθαι; ἀλλ' οὐχὶ σεαυτῷ*[7] *μὴ ἀνεχομένῳ*

[1] *γυναικῶν* A, B, C, D.
[2] *ταῖς* A, B, C, D.
[3] *καὶ* add. A, B, C, D.
[4] *ἢ* B, C, D; *εἰς* editi.
[5] *ὑπάρξει* A, B, C, D.
[6] *τὸ* om. C.
[7] *σεαυτῷ μὴ ἀνεχομένῳ*] *σεαυτοῦ μὴ ἀνεχομένου* A, B; *σεαυτὸν μὴ ἀνεχόμενον* F.

[1] *Subintroductae* or *συνείσακτοι* were women who were admitted to the homes of priests to look after the ordinary household duties. Scandals naturally arose therefrom, and prohibitive measures were passed at various Councils, the

Council, which distinctly forbids the introduction of women into the household.[1] The honour of celibacy lies in this—that one is cut off from the society of women. For if anyone professes celibacy in name, but in fact conducts himself exactly as married men do, it is clear that, while he seeks the honour attaching to the name of celibacy, yet he in no way abstains from the dishonour of indulgence.

You should, therefore, have been the more ready to comply with my demand in proportion as you profess to be free from all carnal passion. For I neither believe that a man of seventy years is living with a woman for the gratification of his passions, nor have we reached our present decision on the ground that any outrageous act has been committed, but because we have been taught by the apostle not to put a stumbling-block or a scandal in our brother's way.[2] And we know that what is done in all purity by some is to others an occasion for sin. For this reason we have commanded you to follow the commandment of the holy Fathers, and separate yourself from the woman.

Why then do you complain of the chorepiscopus, and recall an ancient grudge? Why do you blame us as having ears easily accessible to slander? Why do you not rather blame yourself for not consent-

earliest at the Council of Elvira, A.D. 305. The Canon (III) of Nicaea, to which Basil refers, only allowed the introduction of a mother, a sister, or an aunt, if their character was above all suspicion.

[2] Cf. Rom. 14. 13. *μηκέτι οὖν ἀλλήλους κρίνωμεν· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο κρίνατε μᾶλλον, τὸ μὴ τιθέναι πρόσκομμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἢ σκάνδαλον.* "Let us not therefore judge one another any more. But judge this rather, that you put not a stumbling-block or a scandal in your brother's way."

ἀποστῆναι τῆς πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα συνηθείας; ἔκβαλλε[1] *τοίνυν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου σου, καὶ κατάστησον αὐτὴν ἐν μοναστηρίῳ. ἔστω ἐκείνη μετὰ παρθένων, καὶ σὺ ὑπηρετοῦ ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ δι' ὑμᾶς*[2] *βλασφημῆται. ἕως δ' ἂν ταῦτα ποιῇς,*[3] *αἱ μυριάδες, ἅσπερ*[4] *συγγράφεις διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, οὐδέν ὠφελήσουσί σε, ἀλλὰ τελευτήσεις ἀργῶν, καὶ δώσεις τῷ Κυρίῳ λόγον τῆς σεαυτοῦ*[5] *ἀργίας. ἐὰν δὲ τολμήσῃς, μὴ διορθωσάμενος σεαυτόν, ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἱερωσύνης, ἀνάθεμα ἔσῃ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, καὶ οἱ δεχόμενοί σε ἐκκήρυκτοι κατὰ πᾶσαν Ἐκκλησίαν γενήσονται.*

LVI

Περγαμίῳ.[6]

Εἰμὶ μὲν φύσει εὔκολος πρὸς τὴν λήθην, ἐπεγένετο δέ μοι καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀσχολιῶν πλῆθος, ἐπιτεῖνον τὴν ἐκ φύσεως ἀῤῥωστίαν. ὥστε εἰ καὶ[7] *μὴ μέμνημαι δεξάμενος γράμματα τῆς εὐγενείας σου, πείθομαι ἐπεσταλκέναι σε ἡμῖν, οὐ γὰρ ἂν πάντως ψεῦδος εἰπεῖν σε. τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἀντιφθέγξασθαι οὐκ ἐγὼ αἴτιος, ἀλλ' ὁ μὴ ἀπαιτήσας τὰς ἀποκρίσεις. νυνὶ δὲ ἥκει σοι τὰ γράμματα ταῦτα, ὑπέρ τε τῶν φθασάντων ἀπολογίαν πληροῦντα καὶ ἀρχὴν διδόντα προσηγορίας δευτέρας. ὥστε ἐπειδὰν ἐπιστέλλῃς ἡμῖν, μὴ ὡς*

[1] ἔκβαλε A, C, D, F.
[2] ἡμᾶς C, D.
[3] ποιήσας B.
[4] ἅσπερ MSS., ἅπερ editi.
[5] ἑαυτοῦ E.
[6] Περγάμῳ Cod. Med.
[7] καὶ εἰ A, B, C, D.

ing to give up the society of the woman? Come now, expel her from your house, and place her in a convent. Let her live with virgins, and do you be served by men, that the name of the Lord may not be blasphemed on your account. Until you do this, the countless explanations which you make in your letters will not avail you; but in suspension you will die, and will give to the Lord an accounting for your suspension. And if you dare, without correcting your ways, to cling to your priestly office, you will be anathema to all the laity; and those who receive you will be excommunicated throughout the Church.

LETTER LVI

To Pergamius[1]

I have always been naturally forgetful, and the access of my manifold duties has increased this natural weakness. Therefore, although I have no recollection of having received a letter from your Nobility, I am sure that you have written to me, since I know that you would certainly not tell a falsehood. Yet it is not I that am to blame for your having received no answer, but the bearer, who failed to demand the reply. But now you have received this letter, which both serves as an apology for those already received and offers an opportunity for a second greeting. So when you next write to us, do not consider that you

[1] Written at the beginning of the episcopate. Nothing is known of Pergamius, who is rebuked in this letter. He was apparently a layman, a person of some consequence, to judge by the titles with which Basil addresses him.

ἄρξας δευτέρας περιόδου γραμμάτων διανοοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀποπληρώσας ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι τὰ ὀφειλόμενα. καὶ γὰρ εἰ[1] καὶ ἀντίδοσις προαγόντων ἐστὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα, ἀλλὰ τῷ πλέον ἢ διπλάσιον ὑπερβάλλειν κατὰ τὸ μέτρον ἑκατέραν[2] τὴν τάξιν ἀποπληρώσει. ὁρᾷς ὁποῖα σοφίζεσθαι ἡμᾶς ἡ ἀργία[3] καταναγκάζει;

Σὺ δὲ παῦσαι, ὦ ἄριστε, ἐπάγων[4] ἐν μικροῖς ῥήμασι μεγάλας αἰτίας, οὐμενοῦν ἐχούσας ὑπερβολὴν εἰς κακίαν.[5] λήθη γὰρ φίλων, καὶ ὑπεροψία ἐκ δυναστείας ἐγγινομένη, πάντα ἔχει ὁμοῦ τὰ δεινά. εἴτε γὰρ οὐκ ἀγαπῶμεν κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ Κυρίου, οὐδὲ τὸν χαρακτῆρα ἐπικείμενον ἡμῖν ἔχομεν· εἴτε φρονήματος κενοῦ καὶ ἀλαζονείας ὑπεπλήσθημεν τυφωθέντες, ἐμπίπτομεν εἰς ἄφυκτον κρίμα τοῦ διαβόλου. ὥστε εἰ μὲν οὕτως ἔχων διανοίας περὶ ἡμῶν, τούτοις ἐχρήσω τοῖς ῥήμασιν, εὖξαι φυγεῖν ἡμᾶς τὴν πονηρίαν, ἣν ἐξεῦρες ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ· εἰ δὲ συνηθείᾳ τινὶ ἀνεξετάστῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ῥημάτων ἦλθεν ἡ γλῶττα, ἑαυτοὺς παραμυθησόμεθα καὶ τὴν σὴν χρηστότητα τὰς ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων μαρτυρίας προσθεῖναι[6] παρακαλοῦμεν. ἐκεῖνο γὰρ εὖ ἴσθι, ὅτι ἡ παροῦσα φροντὶς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῖν γέγονεν ἀφορμή, ὥστε σοῦ τότε ἐπιλησόμεθα, ὅταν καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἀγνοήσωμεν. μὴ τοίνυν ποτὲ τὰς ἀσχολίας σημεῖον τρόπου καὶ κακοηθείας ποιήσῃ.

[1] καὶ γὰρ εἰ] καὶ γὰρ καὶ εἰ (fr. ἡ alia m.) F.
[2] ἑκατέρων A, B, C, D, F (ω fr. α).

are beginning a second series of letters, but that you are paying off the debt which this present note creates. For even though my letter is a return for your previous one, yet, by exceeding yours in length by more than twice, it will pay off the double obligation. Do you see to what sophistry idleness has driven me?

As for you, dear sir, cease in your brief expressions to bring serious charges, charges indeed that imply the utmost depravity. For "forgetfulness of friends," and that "haughtiness which is engendered by power," embrace all the crimes there are. For if we fail to love according to the commandment of the Lord, neither do we possess the character suitable to our position; and if we are filled with the conceit of empty pride and arrogance, then we are fallen into the sin of the devil from which there is no escape. Therefore, if you really held this opinion of us when you used these expressions, pray that we may escape the iniquity which you have found in our character; if, however, your tongue came upon those expressions through a kind of indiscriminate habit, we will console ourselves, and merely ask your Excellency to furnish in addition the evidence based upon actions. For of this much be well assured, that my present reflections have been an occasion of humiliation for me, so that we shall only forget you when we shall have ceased to know ourselves. Therefore never assume that a man's preoccupation with affairs is a sign of his character or of malice.

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[3] ἀργεία F. [4] ἐπάγων om. A, B, C, D.
[5] παρεχόμενος add. A, B, C, D, F (supra alia m.).
[6] προσθῆναι F.

LVII

Μελετίῳ, ἐπισκόπῳ Ἀντιοχείας.[1]

Εἴ πως ἐγένετο φανερὸν τῇ θεοσεβείᾳ σου τῆς εὐφροσύνης τὸ μέγεθος, ἥν[2] ἐμποιεῖς ἡμῖν ὁσάκις ἂν ἐπιστέλλῃς, οἶδα ὅτι οὐκ ἄν ποτε[3] παραπεσοῦσαν γραμμάτων πρόφασιν ὑπερέβης· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπενόησας ἂν πολλὰς ἡμῖν ποιεῖν ἑκάστοτε τὰς ἐπιστολάς, γνωρίζων τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναπαύσει τῶν θλιβομένων[4] παρὰ τοῦ φιλανθρώπου Δεσπότου μισθὸν ἀποκείμενον. πάντα γὰρ ὀδύνης τὰ τῇδε πεπλήρωται,[5] καὶ μόνη ἡμῖν ἐστιν ἀποστροφὴ τῶν δεινῶν ἡ τῆς σῆς ὁσιότητος ἔννοια· ἣν ἐναργεστέραν ἡμῖν ἐμποιεῖ ἡ διὰ τῶν πάσης σοφίας καὶ χάριτος πεπληρωμένων γραμμάτων σου ὁμιλία. ὥστε ὅταν λάβωμεν εἰς χεῖρας τὴν ἐπιστολήν σου, πρῶτον μὲν τὸ μέτρον αὐτῆς ἐπισκοποῦμεν, καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτὴν ἀγαπῶμεν, ὅσῳπερ ἂν περισσεύῃ τῷ πλήθει. ἔπειτα[6] διεξιόντες, τῷ μὲν ἀεὶ προστυγχάνοντι τοῦ λόγου χαίρομεν, τῷ τέλει δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς προσεγγίζοντες,[7] δυσχεραίνομεν. οὕτω πᾶν ὅτιπερ[8] ἂν εἴπῃς τοῖς γράμμασιν ἔνεστιν ἀγαθόν. ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀγαθῆς καρδίας ἀγαθόν ἐστι τὸ περισσεῦον.

Εἰ δὲ καταξιωθείημεν ταῖς σαῖς προσευχαῖς, ἕως ἐσμὲν ἐπὶ γῆς, καὶ τῆς κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς

[1] Μελετίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ MSS.
[2] ἧς C, D.
[3] ἄν ποτε] ἄμποτε E.
[4] θλίψεων A, B, C, D.
[5] πεπλήρωνται A, B.
[6] δὲ add. F.
[7] κατεγγίζοντες E.
[8] ὅπερ E.

LETTER LVII

To Meletius, Bishop of Antioch [1]

If your Holiness could somehow have realised the great happiness which you inspire in us whenever you write, I am sure you would never have passed over any pretext that came your way for a letter; nay, you would have contrived many pretexts for writing us letters on every occasion, knowing the reward which is reserved by our loving Master for the relief of the afflicted. For everything here is full of distress, and my only refuge from my troubles is the thought of your Holiness; and this is brought more vividly to my mind by the intercourse which your letters, so full of all wisdom and grace, give me. Hence, whenever we take into our hands a letter from you, we first of all observe its length, and love it in proportion as it goes beyond the average in size. Then, as we read it, we take delight in every word that meets our eyes; but as we approach the end, we are sad. To such an extent is all the goodness of your spoken words found in your letters! For the abundance that flows from a good heart is good.

If, in answer to your prayers, we should be thought worthy, while still on earth, to meet you face to

[1] Written in 371. This date is supported by Basil's statement that the church of Caesarea was still in an unfortunate state. He had not as yet firmly consolidated his position as Archbishop. Meletius had already been in exile from Antioch for seven years, on account of his orthodoxy, although he was not in full communion with Catholics, because of the Eustathian schism.

συντυχίας, καὶ παρ' αὐτῆς τῆς ζώσης φωνῆς λαβεῖν ὠφέλιμα διδάγματα, ἢ ἐφόδια πρός τε τὸν ἐνεστῶτα αἰῶνα καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα, τοῦτο ἂν μέγιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐκρίναμεν, καὶ προοίμιον τῆς παρὰ Θεοῦ εὐμενείας ἑαυτοῖς ἐτιθέμεθα. καὶ ἤδη γε τῆς ὁρμῆς εἰχόμεθα ταύτης, εἰ μὴ οἱ[1] γνησιώτατοι καὶ τὰ πάντα φιλάδελφοι ἀδελφοὶ[2] ἐπέσχον ἡμᾶς, ὧν ἵνα μὴ γράμμασι[3] δημοσιεύσω τὴν προαίρεσιν, διηγησάμην τῷ ἀδελφῷ Θεοφράστῳ τῇ σῇ τελειότητι[4] τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον ἀπαγγεῖλαι.

LVIII

Γρηγορίῳ ἀδελφῷ.[5]

Πῶς ἄν σοι διὰ γραμμάτων[6] μαχεσθείην; πῶς δ' ἂν ἀξίως σου καθαψαίμην τῆς περὶ πάντα χρηστότητος; τρίτον τίς, εἰπέ μοι, τοῖς αὐτοῖς περιπίπτει δικτύοις; τρίτον τίς τῇ αὐτῇ περιπίπτει πάγῃ; οὐδ' ἂν τῶν ἀλόγων τι τοῦτο[7] ῥᾳδίως πάθοι. μίαν μοι συμπλάσας[8] ἐπιστολὴν ἐκόμισας, ὡς παρὰ τοῦ αἰδεσιμωτάτου ἐπισκόπου[9] καὶ κοινοῦ θείου ἡμῶν, ἀπατῶν με οὐκ οἶδα ἀνθ' ὅτου.

[1] οἱ om. C, D.
[2] ἀδελφοὶ add. Capps.
[3] γράμματι A, B, C, D.
[4] τιμιότητι B.
[5] Γρηγορίῳ ἐπισκοπῷ καὶ ἀδελφῷ E, F, Cod. Med.
[6] γράμματος C, D.
[7] τοιοῦτον E, τοιοῦτο F.
[8] συμπλέξας C, D, E.
[9] ἐπισκόπου om. A, B, C, D.

[1] Perhaps the deacon Theophrastus, who died shortly after Easter, A.D. 372; cf. Letter XCV. According to

face, and from your living speech itself to receive helpful instruction, or provision for the journey of both this life and the next, this we should have accounted the greatest of all goods, and should have set it down as an intimation of God's special favour to ourselves. And we should have adhered to this earnest desire even yet, had we not been restrained by our most true and in all respects brotherly brethren. In order to avoid making known their intention, I have told our brother Theophrastus[1] about it, that he may explain the situation to your Perfection in detail.

LETTER LVIII

To Gregory, his Brother[2]

Would that I could contend with you by letter! Would that I could upbraid your utter simplicity as it deserves! Who, tell me, ever falls a third time into the same net? Who ever falls a third time into the same snare? Even a brute beast would scarcely do that. You forged a letter, and brought it to me as if from our common uncle, the most revered bishop, deceiving me for some unknown

Maran, the intentions referred to here are the plans to bring about the peace of the whole Church.

[2] Written in 371. Basil's uncle Gregory had been in sympathy with the disaffected suffragans in their troubles with Basil; cf. Introd. p. xxxi. To effect a reconciliation between the two, Gregory of Nyssa went so far as to forge several letters in his uncle's name. The counterfeit was naturally found out, and the breach between the two was only bridged with great difficulty.

ἐδεξάμην ὡς παρ' ἐπισκόπου [1] διὰ σοῦ κομισθεῖσαν. τί γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλον; ἐπέδειξα [2] πολλοῖς τῶν φίλων ὑπὸ περιχαρείας, ηὐχαρίστησα τῷ Θεῷ. ἠλέγχθη τὸ πλάσμα, αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου διὰ τῆς ἰδίας φωνῆς ἀρνησαμένου. κατῃσχύνθημεν ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ· ηὐξάμεθα ἡμῖν διαστῆναι τὴν γῆν, ῥᾳδιουργίας καὶ ψεύδους καὶ ἀπάτης ὀνείδει περιβληθέντες. δευτέραν πάλιν ἀπέδωκάν μοι, ὡς διὰ τοῦ οἰκέτου σου Ἀστερίου παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μοι ἀποσταλεῖσαν. οὐδὲ ἐκείνην [3] ἀληθῶς αὐτὸς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος διεπέμψατο, ὡς ὁ αἰδεσιμώτατος ἀδελφὸς Ἄνθιμος ἡμῖν ἀπήγγειλε. τρίτην πάλιν Ἀδαμάντιος ἧκε πρὸς ἡμᾶς κομίζων. πῶς ἔδει με δέξασθαι τὰ [4] διὰ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν πεμπόμενα; [5] ηὐξάμην ἂν λίθου καρδίαν ἔχειν, ὥστε μήτε τῶν παρελθόντων μεμνῆσθαι μήτε τῶν παρόντων αἰσθάνεσθαι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ πᾶσαν πληγὴν εἰς γῆν κεκυφὼς φέρειν [6] ὡς τὰ βοσκήματα. ἀλλὰ τί πάθω πρὸς τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ λογισμόν, μετὰ μίαν καὶ δευτέραν πεῖραν, οὐδὲν δυνάμενον ἀνεξετάστως προσίεσθαι;

Ταῦτα τῆς σῆς ἁπλότητος καθαπτόμενος ἔγραψα, ἣν οὐδ' [7] ἄλλως πρέπουσαν Χριστιανοῖς, τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ ὁρῶ [8] μὴ ἁρμόζουσαν, ἵνα πρὸς γοῦν τὸ [9] ἐφεξῆς ἑαυτόν [10] τε φυλάττοις [11] κἀμοῦ φείδῃ· ἐπειδή, δεῖ γάρ με πρὸς σὲ μετὰ παῤῥησίας εἰπεῖν, ἀναξιόπιστος εἶ τῶν τοιούτων διάκονος· πλὴν οἵτινες ἂν ὦσιν οἱ ἐπεσταλκότες, ἀπεκρινά-

[1] καὶ κοινοῦ πατρὸς add. F in marg. [2] ὑπέδειξα E.

[3] ἐκείνην ἀληθῶς . . . ἀδελφὸς Ἄνθιμος] ἐκείνη ἀληθής, αὐτος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος διεμαρτύρατο ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰδεσιμωτάτου ἀδελφοῦ Ἀνθίμου ὡς αὐτὸς A, B, C, D.

[4] τὰ om. editi. [5] πεμπομένην editi.

[6] ὑποφέρειν E, F. [7] οὐδ' om. A, B, C, D, E, F.

reason. I received it as sent by the bishop through you. Why should I not have done so? I showed it with great joy to many of my friends, and gave thanks to God. The forgery was then exposed, the bishop himself with his own lips disowning it. We were put to shame, and prayed that the earth might open to receive us, overwhelmed as we were by the reproach of duplicity, falsehood, and deceit. Then again they handed me a second letter, as having been sent to me by the bishop himself through your servant Asterius. But the bishop himself had not really despatched this one either, as our most reverend brother Anthimus[1] has told us. And now Adamantius comes bringing us a third letter. How could I possibly accept any messages brought by you or yours? I might have prayed for a heart of stone, that I might neither remember the past nor be sensible of the present, but, bowing my head to the ground, might endure every blow, as cattle do. But what is become of my reason when, after a first and second experience, I find that I can believe nothing without investigation!

I write these words to upbraid you for your fatuity—which I consider at no time befitting a Christian, and entirely out of place at the present moment—in order that in the future, at any rate, you may guard yourself, and spare me; because—for I must speak to you frankly—you are no trustworthy agent in such matters. However, whoever may be the authors of the letters, we have sent them a

[1] Bishop of Tyana, and at odds with Basil; cf. Letters CXX, CXXI, CXXII, and CCX.

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[8] *τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ ὁρῶ*] *τοῖς παροῦσι καιροῖς καθορῶ* E, F.
[9] *τὰ* C, D. [10] *σαυτόν* F. [11] *φυλάττῃς* F.

μεθα αὐτοῖς τὰ εἰκότα· εἴτε οὖν αὐτὸς ἀπόπειράν[1] μοι καθιείς, εἴτε τῷ ὄντι παρὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων λαβὼν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἔπεμψας, ἔχεις τὰς ἀποκρίσεις. σὲ[2] δὲ ἄλλα[3] εἰκὸς ἦν ἐν τῷ παρόντι φροντίζειν, ἀδελφόν τε ὄντα καὶ μήπω τῆς φύσεως ἐπιλελησμένον, μηδὲ ἐν ἐχθροῦ μοίρᾳ ἡμᾶς ὁρῶντα, ἐπειδὴ εἰς βίον παρήλθομεν συντρίβοντα μὲν ἡμῶν τὸ σῶμα, κακοῦντα δὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τῷ ὑπερβαίνειν τὴν ἡμετέραν δύναμιν. ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἐπειδὴ οὕτως ἐκπεπολέμωσαι, τούτου ἕνεκεν παρεῖναί σε[4] δεῖ[5] νῦν καὶ κοινωνεῖν τῶν πραγμάτων. Ἀδελφοὶ γάρ, φησίν, ἐν ἀνάγκαις ἔστωσαν[6] χρήσιμοι.

Εἰ δὲ τῷ ὄντι συντυχίαν ἡμετέραν καταδέχονται οἱ αἰδεσιμώτατοι ἐπίσκοποι, καὶ τόπον ἡμῖν ὡρισμένον καὶ καιρὸν γνωρισάτωσαν, καὶ δι' ἰδίων ἡμᾶς ἀνθρώπων μεταστειλάσθωσαν. ὥσπερ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ἀπαντῆσαι αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ θεῖον οὐκ ἀπαξιῶ, οὕτως ἐὰν μὴ μετὰ τοῦ πρέποντος σχήματος ἡ κλῆσις γένηται, οὐκ ἀνέξομαι.

[1] πεῖραν C, D.
[2] σοῦ E.
[3] καὶ add. C, D.
[4] σε om. C, D, E.
[5] δεῖ Capps; ἔδει MSS.
[6] σοι add. E, F

suitable answer. Therefore, whether you were setting a trap for me each time you sent the letter, or whether you actually received it from a bishop, you have my answer. But as for you, you ought to be considerate of me on general principles at the present moment—since you are my brother, and cannot have forgotten the ties of nature, to say nothing of regarding me in the light of an enemy—now that we have come into a life that is not only wearing out our body, but is even ruining our soul as well, so far does it exceed our strength. Yet, in spite of all, now that you have been set at warfare with me in this manner, you ought for this very reason to be at my side now, and share my troubles. For it is said, "Brethren are a help in the time of trouble." [1]

If the right reverend bishops will in truth agree to a conference with us, let them designate a definite time and place, and let them summon us through their own agents. For, while I do not refuse to meet my own uncle, yet, unless the invitation is extended with due formality, I shall not submit.

[1] Ecclesiastes 40. 24.

CORRIGENDA

page 21, line 12, *for* "effect" *read* "affect."
,, 51, ,, 30, *for* "conception" *read* "understanding.
,, 67, ,, 13, *for* "it" *read* "he."
,, 73, ,, 5, *for* "upon" *read* "in."
,, 75, line 11, *for* "perceptible" *read* "intellectual."
,, 103, last line, *insert* "you" *after* "beg."
,, 109, line 21, *for* "receive" *read* "enjoy."
,, 131, last line, *for* "conduct" *read* "conduce."
,, 137, line 4, *for* "unbidden" *read* "forbidden."
,, 153, ,, 28, *delete comma after* "composed."
,, 207, ,, 12, *for* "produced" *read* "comprehended."

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